FIRST REPORT

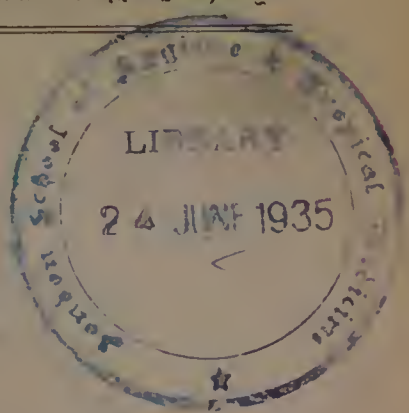
OF

HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS

FOR INQUIRING INTO

THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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COMMISSION.

VICTORIA REG.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith. To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Baronet, President of the Local Government Board, Chairman; Our Most Dear Son Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, Field Marshal in Our Army; Our trusty and well-beloved the Most Reverend Cardinal Archbishop Henry Edward Manning, Doctor in Divinity; Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Adelbert Wellington Brownlow, Earl Brownlow; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Charles Robert, Baron Carrington, Captain of Our Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor George Joachim Göschen; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Richard Assheton Cross, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath; The Right Reverend Father in God William Walsham, Bishop Suffragan of Bedford: Our trusty and well-beloved Edward Lyulph Stanley, Esquire, commonly called the Honourable Edward Lyulph Stanley; Our trusty and well-beloved William Torrens McCullagh Torrens, Esquire, Bachelor of Laws; Our trusty and well-beloved Henry Broadhurst, Esquire; Our trusty and well-beloved Jesse Collings, Esquire; Our trusty and well-beloved George Godwin, Esquire, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Morley, Esquire, greeting:

Whereas an humble Address has been presented unto Us by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, praying that We will be graciously pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the Housing of the Working Classes:

Now know ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge and ability, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint you the said Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Chairman, together with you the said Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Henry Edward Manning, Cardinal Archbishop, Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, Adelbert Wellington Brownlow, Earl Brownlow; Charles Robert Baron Carrington, George Joachim Göschen, Sir Richard Assheton Cross, William Walsham, Bishop Suffragan of Bedford, Edward Lyulph Stanley, William Torrens McCullagh Torrens, Henry Broadhurst, Jesse

Collings, George Godwin, and Samuel Morley to be our Commissioners for the purpose aforesaid:

And for the better effecting the purposes of this Our Commission, We do hereby authorise and empower you, or any five or more of you, to call before you, or any five or more of you, all such persons as you shall judge most competent by reason of their situation, knowledge, or experience to afford you correct information on the subject of this Our Commission; and also to call for, have access to, and examine all such books, documents, registers, and records as may afford you the fullest information on the subject: And to inquire of and concerning the premises by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever:

And We do further by these Presents authorise and empower you, or any five or more of you, to visit and personally inspect such places in Our United Kingdom as you may deem expedient for the more effectual carrying out of the purpose aforesaid:

And We do by these Presents will and ordain that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you Our said Commissioners or any five or more of you, may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment:

And Our further will and pleasure is that you, or any five or more of you, may have liberty to report to Us your proceedings under this Our Commission, from time to time, if you shall judge it expedient so to do:

And We further ordain that you do with as little delay as possible report to Us under your hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of any five or more of you, your opinion upon the matter herein submitted for your consideration. And for your assistance in the execution of this Our Commission We have made choice of Our trusty and well-beloved John Edward Courtenay Bodley, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Master of Arts, to be Secretary to this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the fourth day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in the Forty-seventh Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

(Signed) W. V. HARCOURT.

Commission to inquire into the Housing of the Working Classes.

SUPPLEMENTARY COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith. To Our right trusty and well-beloved Sir George Harrison, Knight, Lord Provost of Our city of Edinburgh, and Our trusty and well-beloved Edmund Dwyer Gray, Esquire, greeting:

Whereas We did by warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the fourth day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, appoint Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Baronet, together with the several gentlemen therein mentioned, or any five or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to inquire into the Housing of the Working Classes:

Now know ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorised and appoint you, the said Sir George Harrison and Edmund Dwyer Gray, to be Our Commissioners for the purpose aforesaid, in addition to and together with the Commissioners whom We have already appointed by the before-mentioned Royal Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the sixteenth day of August one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in the Forty-eight Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

(Signed) W. V. HARCOURT.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

FIRST REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

YOUR Majesty having been pleased to issue a Commission under the Great Seal authorising and requiring the Commissioners therein named to inquire and report upon the housing of the working classes in Your Majesty's United Kingdom, and signifying Your Majesty's will and pleasure that five or more of the said Commissioners should, under their hands and seals, report to Your Majesty the opinion of the said Commissioners upon the several points submitted for their consideration in the said Commission.

We, Your Majesty's Commissioners, whose hands and seals are hereunto set, do humbly certify to Your Majesty the proceedings under the said Commission in furtherance and execution of Your Majesty's command.

We, in obedience to Your Majesty's command, have inquired into the subject committed to us for consideration as far as relates to those portions of Your Majesty's kingdom called England and Wales.

We have held sittings in the metropolis, and have called before us such persons as we judged likely to be able to afford us information, and have received from them evidence, and from them and from other persons documents and papers bearing upon the subject of our inquiry. Such of the latter as are thought material are printed in the Appendix to the Report.

We consider that inasmuch as the circumstances connected with the housing of the working classes in those portions of Your Majesty's kingdom called Scotland and Ireland present certain features peculiar to themselves, and inasmuch as some of the recommendations we have to make as regards England and Wales are of great urgency, it will be advisable to report to Your Majesty upon the latter separately, without waiting for the inquiries about to take place into the subject as it affects the other portions of Your Majesty's United Kingdom.

LAW AND FACTS.

The subject of the Housing of the Working Classes in Your Majesty's Kingdom is one which has been continually before the public for more than 30 years. In 1851 the Earl of Shaftesbury's two measures, the Common Lodging Houses Act (14 & 15 Vict. c. 28.), and the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act

(14 & 15 Viet. e. 34), to which Your Majesty's Commissioners will have oeeasion hereafter to refer, beeame law. Sir Benjamin Hall's Metropolis Local Management Act and the principal Nnisanees Removal Aet (18 & 19 Viet. e. 121.) were passed in 1855. Early in 1866 Mr. Torrens, Mr. Locke, and Mr. Kinnaird introdueed a Bill "to provide better dwellings for artizans and labonrers," which was of a wider seope than the Labonring Classes Dwelling Houses Bill introdueed by the Government and passed into law that session, the latter only empowering the Publie Works Loan Commissioners to make advances towards the ereetion of labourers' dwellings in popnlous towns. On the snggestion of Mr. Gladstone, who was then the Chaneellor of Your Majesty's Exehequer, Mr. Torrens's Bill was referred to a Seleet Committee. The result of their inquiry was legislation in 1868, whieh will many times be referred to in this Report.

Before eoming to the enaetments whieh may be said to have been the immediate frnit of the work of this Committee, and to snbsequent legislation in the same direetion—the series of statutes known as Mr. Torrens's and Sir Riehard Cross's Aets—it will be eonvenient at onee to mention that the continued existenee of evils, notwithstanding all that had been done for their repression, was the eause of the nomination of Seleet Committees of the House of Commons in 1881–82 to eonsider the working of some of the most important of these Aets. The Committees inqnired at great length into the snbjeet, and their reports and the evidenee taken before them are considered to be in evidence before Your Majesty's Commissioners. The legislative result of the reports of the Committees was the introduction of a Bill by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre on behalf of Yonr Majesty's Government for the amendment of Mr. Torrens's and Sir Riehard Cross's Acts, which was passed into law as the Artizans Dwellings Act, 1882 (45 & 46 Vict. e. 54.).

The reports of the Committees again turned pnblie attention to the snbjeet. In July 1883 the Local Government Board issued a eirenlar letter to the urban authorities in the provinees, and to the vestries and distriet boards of the metropolis, bringing under their espeeial eonsideration the provisions of Mr. Torrens's and Sir Richard Cross's Aets as to unhealthy areas, and in the month of Deeember they issued eirenlar letters to the same bodies, again drawing attention to the extensive powers already possessed by local authorities for the purpose of dealing with insanitary dwellings of the labouring classes. They at the same time forwarded, for eonvenienee of reference by members of the authorities, copies of digests, whieh the Board had had prepared, of the statutory provisions bearing on the subjeet.

Early in the session of 1884 the Marquess of Salisbury moved in the House of Lords for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the Housing of the Working Classes, and the proposition was accepted by Your Majesty's Government. The motion was unanimously assented to, and was eonsidered to be of such gravity that His Royal Highness the Prinee of Wales, who had himself visited some of the poorest parts of London a

short time previously, supported it with a speech in the course of the debate.

The issuing of Your Majesty's Commission immediately followed in due course, and the importance attached to it by Your Majesty and by Your Majesty's advisers was so great that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales consented to be placed upon the Commission.

At the very outset of their inquiry Your Majesty's Commissioners had testimony to prove two important facts: first, that though there was a great improvement, described by Lord Shaftesbury as "enormous," in the condition of the houses of the poor compared to that of 30 years ago, yet the evils of overcrowding, especially in London, were still a public scandal, and were becoming in certain localities more serious than they ever were; second, that there was much legislation designed to meet these evils, yet that the existing laws were not put into force, some of them having remained a dead letter from the date when they first found place in the statute book. Shaftesbury, 36, 37, 39, &c. Shaftesbury, 14, 26. Shaftesbury, 23.

Before proceeding to take further evidence in detail as to the existing evils and their remedies, Your Majesty's Commissioners examined the legislation now in force which applies to the subject, in the face of which evils have not only continued but have in some places increased in the most aggravated manner. EXISTING LEGISLATION. Owen, 226, 283.

An Act of Parliament was passed in August 1855, the title of which explains its object, "An Act to consolidate and amend "the Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Acts, 1848 and "1849" (18 & 19 Vict. c. 121.), eleven years later the provisions of this Act were extended and amended by the Sanitary Act of 1866 (29 & 30 Vict. c. 90.). By this legislation, in addition to provisions as to foul and defective drains, cesspools, accumulations, &c., any house or part of a house so overcrowded as to be prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants is deemed to be a nuisance, notice of which may be given to the local authority by any person aggrieved, by the sanitary inspector or any paid officer under the local authority, by two inhabitant householders of the parish, by the relieving officer, by any police constable or inspector of common lodging houses. The local authority, moreover, are bound to ascertain by inspection, by themselves or their officers, the existence of nuisances. They must serve the person responsible for the nuisance with a notice, the owner being held answerable for structural defects; they have power of entry, and if the nuisance be not abated they can lay the case before the magistrates, who can make orders in the matter, and if the nuisance is such as to render the premises unfit for human habitation, they may prohibit the use of the house for that purpose, which prohibition can only be reversed by a counter-order. REMOVAL OF NUISANCES (Sanitary Acts). Owen, 229. Owen, 230–37.

In addition to the removal of nuisances the law also deals with the maintenance of existing dwellings in a proper condition. Sec. 35 of the Sanitary Act of 1866 empowered the Secretary of State to declare on application of the local authority, both in the metropolis and in provincial towns of not less than 5,000 inhabitants, an enactment to be in force authorising the local authority Owen, 276–7.

to make regulations for houses let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one family; and by sec. 47 of the Sanitary Law Amendment Act of 1874 (37 & 38 Vict. c. 89.), the Local Government Board may declare the enactment to be in force in any part of the metropolis, and in the district of any sanitary authority, the powers of the Secretary of State in this matter having in the meantime been transferred to the Local Government Board. The Local Government Board having in November last declared the enactment in force in the whole of those sanitary districts of the metropolis in which it was not already in operation, the vestries have the power to make rules for securing, in the case of these houses, the observance of provisions as regards ventilation, separation of the sexes, cleansing, draining, and the prevention of overcrowding.

The Acts above referred to are still in force in the metropolis, but as regards England and Wales, exclusive of the metropolis, those Acts were repealed by the Public Health Act, 1875 (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55). That Act, however, includes provisions similar to those above alluded to.

SHAFTESBURY ACT, 1851.

Turning to legislation on the subject of the demolition of unhealthy houses, and the construction of improved dwellings, it is found that as far back as 1851, Lord Shaftesbury conducted through both Houses of Parliament, he having been a member of both Houses in the course of that year, the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act (14 & 15 Vict. c. 34.). This provides, as regards the metropolis, that the Act may be adopted in any parish with a population of not less than 10,000 at a meeting specially convened for the purpose on the requisition of ratepayers. The resolution of adoption must be passed by at least two thirds in value of the votes on the question. When the Act has been adopted the vestry may appoint commissioners, who need only be ratepayers, to borrow money on the mortgage of the rates for the erection, purchase, or lease of lodging-houses for the working classes, to be managed under byelaws made and enforced by the Commissioners. This Act also contains provisions for its adoption in populous districts outside the metropolis. The Act, however, seems to have been a dead letter, for reasons to which Your Majesty's Commissioners will have to refer when they proceed to make suggestions for the amendment of the law.

Shaftesbury, 3, 23, &c. Owen, 349.

Shaftesbury, 4, 218. Owen, 375, &c.

TORRENS'S ACTS.

In 1868, Mr. Torrens's Act (31 & 32 Vict. c. 130.) was passed. With the amending Acts of 1879 (42 & 43 Vict. c. 64.) and of 1882 (45 & 46 Vict. c. 54.) it provides for the gradual improvement or demolition of dwellings of the working classes, and for the building and maintenance of the improved dwellings. These Acts apply to single tenements, or comparatively small groups of houses, and in the metropolis are administered by the vestries and district boards. They affect houses unfit for human habitation and also obstructive buildings which stop ventilation or conduce to make neighbouring buildings unfit for habitation. The first step to be taken under them is for the medical officer to report to the local authority whenever he finds premises dangerous to health so as to be unfit for human habitation. He may do this on the

Owen, 305, &c.

Owen, 307, 308, seq.

representation of householders, but the absence of such representation is not to excuse him from inspecting and reporting. The local authority must then refer the report to a surveyor or engineer who is to advise on the cause of the evil, and to state whether structural alterations will suffice or whether total or partial demolition of the premises is necessary. Copies of the reports are to be given to the owner, who if the local authority make an order, whether it be for the execution of structural works or the demolition of the building, may appeal against their decision. If, when an order for the execution of works is made, the order is not appealed against, or if appealed against is confirmed, the local authority will call upon the owner to execute the works in accordance with plans and specifications prepared by them. The owner must then within two months from the date of the order or decision of the court of quarter sessions commence the works and proceed with them with due diligence, or he may within three months from the date of the service of the order require the local authority to purchase the premises, the price being determined in case of dispute by arbitration. Supposing, however, that the owner refuses or neglects to do the work, and has not required the local authority to purchase, the local authority may themselves do what is necessary, charging on the premises the cost of the works. If the order is for the demolition of premises, and it is not appealed against, or if appealed against is confirmed, the owner may either demolish the premises or in like manner require the local authority to purchase. If he does neither the one nor the other, the local authority must proceed to remove the premises, and in that case the materials are to be sold by them, the balance after deducting expenses being paid over to the owner. When, in the case of the metropolis, property is acquired by the local authority under these Acts they must apply it for the construction of new dwellings or the improvement of existing ones for the working classes, or for the opening out and widening of courts and alleys. If the local authority make default in their duty under the Acts the board of guardians in whose union the property is, or the owner of any neighbouring property, may appeal to the Metropolitan Board of Works, which may take the work into their own hands and make the local authority pay the expense. This latter provision has, it is understood, never been put in force by the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Owen, 312, &c.

Owen, 320.

Owen, 323.

The Artizans Dwellings Improvement Acts, commonly known as Sir Richard Cross's Acts, are the series framed in 1875, 1879, and 1882 respectively (38 & 39 Vict. c. 36.), (42 & 43 Vict. c. 63.), and (45 & 46 Vict. c. 54., part 1). The operation of the first two of these Acts was very fully inquired into by the Select Committees of the House of Commons in 1881 and 1882, and as Your Majesty's Commissioners have taken the report and evidence of those Committees as being before them, it may be sufficient to say that the object of Sir Richard Cross's Acts may be described as the doing on a large scale of that which Mr. Torrens's Acts are intended to do for smaller areas. In pointing out the difference between the two sets of Statutes, Your Majesty's Commissioners

Cross's Acts.

Owen, 347.

cannot do better than quote the comparison which was made in the Draft Report of the Chairman of the Committee of 1882 :—

"Mr. Torrens's Acts," it said, "proceed upon the principle that "the responsibility of maintaining his houses in proper condition "falls upon the owner, and that if he fails in his duty the law is "justified in stepping in and compelling him to perform it. They "further assume that houses unfit for human habitation ought "not to be used as dwellings, but ought, in the interests of the "public, to be closed and demolished, and to be subsequently "rebuilt. The expropriation of the owner is thus a secondary "step in the transaction, and only takes place after the failure of "other means of rendering the houses habitable.

"The Acts of 1875–79 (Sir Richard Cross's Acts) proceed upon "a different principle. They contemplate dealing with whole "areas, where the houses are so structurally defective as to be "incapable of repair, and so ill-placed with reference to each "other as to require to bring them up to a proper sanitary "standard, nothing short of demolition and reconstruction. "Accordingly, in this case, the local authority, armed with "compulsory powers, at once enters as a purchaser, and on "completion of the purchase proceeds forthwith to a scheme of "reconstruction." Mr. Torrens's Acts are applicable to the metropolis and to all urban sanitary districts without any limit of population. Sir Richard Cross's Acts only apply to the metropolis and urban sanitary districts (boroughs, local board districts, and Improvement Act districts) with a population of not less than 25,000.

Your Majesty's Commissioners have thus briefly glanced at the legislation in existence, which has for its object the improvement of the condition of the dwellings of the working classes. There are, however, many other laws having a material bearing on the same question, some of which will be mentioned with a view to their amendment.

PLAN OF EVIDENCE.

After ascertaining the powers conferred by existing legislation upon local authorities, Your Majesty's Commissioners proceeded to investigate the condition of the dwellings of the working classes in London, with especial reference to overcrowding. They then selected portions of the metropolis for minute investigation. The neighbourhood chosen was that near the centre of the metropolis, lying south of the Euston Road and north of Holborn and its continuations, comprising the parishes of Clerkenwell and St. Luke and parts of the parish of St. Pancras and of the district of Holborn. This area is inhabited almost exclusively by a poor population, and in order to obtain exhaustive information on the subject of their housing, Your Majesty's Commissioners called as witnesses the local clergy, medical and other officials and members of the vestries, representatives of the interests of the freeholders, school board officers and officers of the Metropolitan Police, all of whom had special knowledge of the district in question. Evidence was also heard as to Bermondsey, Whitechapel, Southwark, Notting Hill, and Marylebone, and incidentally as to Chelsea, Hackney, and Westminster. Abundant testimony was therefore

Sharp, Fryer, Horsley, Smith, Dawes, Murphy, Jennings, Paget, Compton, Boodle, school board visitors, Dixon, Billing, Mearns, Sims, Hunt, Salway, Tripe, Wilkins, &c., &c.

taken as to the condition of things throughout the metropolis apart from the district specially investigated.

Your Majesty's Commissioners then proceeded to inquire into the condition of some of the great provincial towns, and examined witnesses from Bristol and Newcastle-on Tyne, and later in the inquiry from Birmingham, Merthyr-Tydfil, Leeds, and Liverpool. The Commissioners have also had laid before them a report, with reference to Gateshead, by a Medical Inspector of the Local Government Board, which has since been published.

Davies, Barnett, Maeliver, Price, Houldey, Armstrong, Laws. Chamberlain. Dyke. Forwood, Farrie, Dunscombe, Stephens. Woodman. Wilson. Vivian, Angove, Pendarves, Bolden. Brown, Holland. Downes

The examination of the condition of working class dwellings in urban centres of population (to which this portion of the present report refers) included the evidence of persons from towns of middle size and from smaller towns. Exeter and Doncaster were taken as examples of the former, and of the latter Camborne and Alnwick were selected as presenting instances of evils of a certain class, while other small towns were incidentally referred to by various witnesses. Your Majesty's Commissioners have also had put in an extract from the Report for 1883 of the Medical Officer of Health for the town of Bridgewater, and in the rural portion of the evidence testimony was given as to the condition of the town of Yeovil.

Your Majesty's Commissioners first proceeded to elicit facts as to the metropolis and provincial centres of urban population, and then examined witnesses whose experience qualified them to propose remedies for the evils, the existence of which had been attested. After full inquiry into the facts existing in London and the provincial towns, a large quantity of evidence as to remedies was given by persons whose experience had been acquired in philanthropic work, in official duty, in local administration, and in the management of model dwellings and of building societies.

Although an endeavour was made to keep the evidence as to facts separate from that as to remedy, yet many of the witnesses upon the former made valuable recommendations, which are embodied in this report; while some of those who were called for the purpose of suggesting remedies, incidentally furnished a mass of facts regarding the condition of the localities from which they drew their knowledge.

It will be convenient to take, first of all, the facts which were given in evidence describing overcrowding and cognate evils as they existed in 1884; then to consider the testimony as to the effects of these evils upon the population in their homes; and afterwards to inquire into the causes which have been shown to be chiefly instrumental in producing overcrowding and its accompaniments in the metropolis and other urban centres of population. After this it will be desirable to advert to evils which are not necessarily connected with overcrowding, and their examination will lead by natural steps to the great question of remedies and the general amelioration of the housing of the working classes.

OVERCROWDING.

The first witness who was examined, Lord Shaftesbury, expressed the opinion more than once, as the result of nearly 50 years' experience, that however great the improvement of the Shaftesbury, 14, 26.

Fryer, 1908–12, 2129.

" condition of the poor in London has been in other respects, the " overcrowding has become more serious than it ever was." This opinion was corroborated by witnesses who spoke from their own knowledge of its increase in various parts of the town. The

Billing, 5054, 5139. Young, 5946.

facts which were described to Your Majesty's Commissioners as regards much of the central portion of London which was especially investigated bore out the statement of a witness who said of the part of St. Pancras lying south of the Euston Road that overcrowding had not increased there simply because the district had become so full it could not grow more crowded. The

Taylor,

facts mentioned in evidence show plainly how widely the single-

Fryer, 1948.

room system for families is established, and the statement of a clergyman from the centre of London that in his district the average is five families to six rooms will be found in certain areas to be under the mark rather than an exaggeration.

Central London.

In Clerkenwell, at 15, St. Helena Place, a house was described containing six rooms, which were occupied at that time by six families, and as many as eight persons inhabited one room. At

Compton, 601–604.

1, Wilmington Place there were 11 families in 11 rooms, seven persons occupying one room. At 30, Noble Street five families

Bates, 1406.

of 26 persons in all were found inhabiting six rooms. A small house in Allen Street was occupied by 38 persons, seven of whom lived in one room. In Northampton Court there were 12 persons in a two-roomed house, eight of whom inhabited one room. In

Bates, 1410–14.

Northampton Street there was a case of nine persons in one room. At 5, Bolton Court, a family of 10 persons occupied two small

Griffiths, 1447, 1456.

rooms. At 36, Bowling Green Lane there were six persons in an underground kitchen. At 7, New Court there were 11 persons

Jordan, 1472–76.

in two rooms, in which fowls also were kept. In Swan Alley, in an old, partly wooden, and decayed house, there were 17 persons inhabiting three rooms.

Windebank, 1490–92.

In Tilney Court, St. Luke's, nine members of a family, five of them being grown up, inhabited one room, 10 feet by 8. In Lion Row there was a room 12 feet by 6, and only 7 feet high, in

Dawes, 3870.

which seven persons slept. In Summers Court, Holborn, there were two families in a room, 12 feet by 8. At 9, Portpool Lane

Motley, 1548, 1555–56.

there were six persons in one small back room. At 1, Half Moon Court, in a three-roomed house, were found 19 persons, 8 adults and 11 children, and the witness who has had much experience in the neighbourhood said that he could hardly call that house overcrowded, as he knew of a case of 12 persons in one room in

Bates, 4102, 4115.

Robin Hood Yard, Holborn. In St. Pancras, at 10, Prospect Terrace eight persons inhabited one room, 10 feet by 7 feet, and

Cobden, 4721, &c.

8 feet high. At 79, Cromer Street there was an underground back kitchen, 12 feet by 9, and 8 feet high, inhabited by seven

Cobden, 4730.

persons. At 3, Derry Street the first floor front room was 13 feet by 12, and 9 feet high, and was inhabited by a family of nine,

Taylor, 4816.

who had only one bed. At 22, Wood Street, on the top floor, there was a room, 11 feet by 9, and 8 feet high, inhabited by a family of eight persons.

Other parts of London.

Evidence of the same kind was forthcoming from other parts of London. At 6, King's Arms Place, Bermondsey, there were

inhabiting the wash-house at the back, 10 feet by 5, a father and mother, two children, and two older sons. At 34, Salisbury Street, a husband, wife, and five children were inhabiting one room. At 3, Metcalfe Court three rooms were occupied respectively by four adult persons, five persons, and seven persons. In System Place one room was occupied by a man and wife with four children, the eldest of 16, in addition to a woman lodger and baby, eight in all in a room 9 feet square. At 2, Neckinger Place one room, about 10 feet square, was occupied by a family of eight, and at 23, Druid Street there was a room occupied by a man and wife and family of four, the eldest being 17 years old. In Spitalfields, 35, Hanbury Street, is a house of nine rooms, and there was an average of seven persons in each room. In no room was there more than one bed. At Notting Hill were found, in St. Catherine's Road, cases of six and seven members of a family occupying one room. Channon, 4242, &c., 4271, 4256. Wright, 4306, &c., 4313, 4319. Billing, 5095. Thompson, 5332–36.

PROVINCIAL TOWNS.

The condition of provincial towns was found to vary considerably, but on the whole it is less unfavourable than that of the poorer districts of the Metropolis. In some of the provincial towns mentioned above overcrowding of the kind described in the worst neighbourhoods of the Metropolis cannot be said to exist, but that the evil is not confined to London is shown by the following instances.

At Bristol the special committee of inquiry report that they found many cases of overcrowding in single rooms, as many as eight people in a room, including father and mother and grown up children. In Newcastle-on-Tyne there were 140 families in 34 houses in Blenheim Street, which each consist of four rooms above ground and two cellars. In Blandford Street there were 50 houses with 230 families, and in George Street 62 houses with 310 families. Camborne in Cornwall is a town the population of which is subject to the fluctuations of the mining trade, which in times of prosperity attracts large numbers of persons to crowd the limited house accommodation. Here there were said to be instances of 7, 8, 9, and even 10 and 11 persons sleeping and taking their meals in one room. At Alnwick 32 persons in one case, of whom 17 were adults, were inhabiting five rooms, and in another case five adults and several children were sleeping in one room. These instances show that sometimes the most aggravated forms of the evil are found existing from various causes in the smaller centres of population. Maclver, 7232–36. Houldey, 7461–64. Vivian, 7936–52. Brown, 8260–62.

It may here be noticed that there is a form of overcrowding which exists sometimes in localities where the houses and rooms are not occupied by excessive numbers of inhabitants; that is to say, there is great overcrowding of houses on a limited area though not of persons in houses. This was said to have been the case at Birmingham before the improvement schemes were undertaken in that town. Chamberlain, 12,464.

SANITARY AND STRUCTURAL DEFECTS.

In connexion with the facts of overcrowding one or two accompanying evils should be mentioned. Such, for instance, are the evils of sanitary and structural defects in the dwellings of the poor.

TENEMENT HOUSES. Definition.

Bates, 4078–79.

Together with them it might be convenient to refer to the evidence on the subject of tenement houses. Tenement houses may be roughly said to be houses which are occupied at weekly rents by members of more than one family, but in which members of more than one family do not occupy a "common room."* The latter is said to be the test, in the eyes of the police, of common lodging houses, which are under their inspection, tenement houses being exempt from it.

Compton, 609.

Boodle, 808.

Brighty, 3404.

Sharp, 1348.

Young, 5974.

Salway, 9422.

Fryer, 1944.

Jennings, 3373.

Jennings, 2896.

Taylor, 4834–37.

Billing, 5114.

Boodle, 924.

Sims, 5682.

The great majority of these houses were originally built for single families, and have since been broken up into tenements, with a family in each room or several families in each house. Although this is a highly lucrative arrangement for the persons in receipt of the rents, the sanitary condition of these buildings is rendered worse by reason of their having been utilised for a purpose for which they were not constructed, there being, as a rule, not more than one water supply arrangement and only one closet for each house. There are many streets in certain parts of London, where the worst mischief is going on, which have an outside look of respectability, the houses having the appearance of decent dwellings for single middle-class families. A large number of them have no washhouses, no backyards, and some no back ventilation whatever, a good many being built upon what were formerly the courts or gardens of larger houses. Owing to the operation of Mr. Torrens's and Sir Richard Cross's Acts, there are not many houses in London in which this condition exists of no back ventilation at all. The owners, are, as a rule, non-resident; the worst abuses are not so often found when they reside in the house. The street doors, where they exist, are rarely at any time shut in houses of this description in the poorest quarters. The consequence is that the staircases and passages at night are always liable to be crowded by persons who, presumably having no other place of shelter, come there to sleep. The custom is so usual in the worst parts of London that in the Mint, Southwark, there is a well-known expression for persons so taking shelter who are called "'appy dossers."

TENEMENT HOUSES IN PROVINCES.

Barnett, 6974.

Armstrong, 7635.

Houldey, 7461.

Forwood, 13,339.

The existence of tenement houses is not confined to the metropolis, though they are much less frequently found in provincial towns. In Bristol a great many of the poorest class are housed in dwellings originally built for one family, and now occupied by a family in each room. The same evil exists also in Newcastle in the old central part of the city near the river, many of the houses having been formerly inhabited by the richer classes. In Liverpool, before the improvements which have taken place during the last few years, the number of houses let in tenements was very great. Here, however, a large proportion of them were not formerly inhabited by a better class, but were built about 40 years ago for the wretched purposes to which they were put. There was an agitation at that time on foot for bringing in building regulations, and the builders, in order to anticipate them, made a rush to provide houses of the old and bad type. In the smaller towns,

* For fuller definition, *see* the legal opinions quoted in reply to Q. 279.

which do not greatly exceed the size and condition of villages, the houses are, as might be expected, not so large as in great centres of population. Still the tenement system is found in them. At Camborne, which has an urban population of 8,000, it was described to be a usual thing to have two families in one house, many of them being built for one family and containing only two rooms. Vivian, 7926.

In many towns tenement houses seem to be unknown. At Doncaster, a town of 22,000 population, where the sanitary condition of the people has been very bad, it is most exceptional to find houses inhabited by members of more than one family; among the mining population of South Wales families usually occupy two-roomed cottages, though they sometimes all sleep in one room; and at Birmingham the proportion of tenement houses is very small compared to the population. TENEMENTS NOT UNIVERSAL. Wilson, 8315. Dyke, 12,983.

With reference to sanitary and structural defects of the dwellings of the poor, more has been done to remedy the former than the latter. Chamberlain, 12,359.

As regards the drainage of London, the improvement that has taken place in the present generation is enormous; the system of universal house drainage has taken the place of the cesspool system with remarkable effect both on the death rate and the habits of the people. Lord Shaftesbury stated that he had himself visited houses inhabited by women and children where there were open cesspools not a foot below the boarding of the rooms. He also had seen the once famous Bermondsey Island, where houses were built upon piles in a swamp, the only supply of water for all purposes being that over which the people were living, in which was deposited all the filth of the place. SANITARY DEFECTS. Shaftesbury, 38. Shaftesbury, 141.

Notwithstanding the great change for the better, the evidence proves conclusively that there is much disease and misery still produced by bad drainage. The work of house-drainage is imperfectly done, frequently in consequence of there being little supervision on the part of the local authorities. The connexion with the sewers is faulty, and in addition to the ordinary consequences of defective drainage the bad work and bad fittings make the houses cold and draughty. There has been much building, moreover, on bad land covered with refuse heaps and decaying matter. Since 1879 builders have been compelled to cover the refuse with concrete, so far as the house extends, but insufficient control not being exercised over the quality of the concrete it frequently cracks, and the noxious gases escape into the houses. SANITARY DEFECTS, LONDON. Fryer, 1921, 2202. Dunkinson, 4379. Willett, 4434. Young, 6085–41. Young, 6086. Young, 6131.

In the provinces there are great complaints of the ill effects of bad sanitary arrangements. In Bristol the fact of many of the poorer houses being built upon land which is subject to periodical floods is a great source of sickness. At Exeter the high death rate is considered to be mainly due to the defective sewerage system and deficient house drainage. Chadwick, 13,971.

There is much room for improvement in the matter of ashpits and dustbins; in Half Moon Court there was a case given in evidence of five houses having only one between them. Vegetable SANITARY DEFECTS, PROVINCES.

Davies, 6911. Woodman, 8469. Ashpits, &c. Windebank, 1497. Bates, 4104. Farrie, 13,467. Dudley, 13,080.

substance, the refuse of costermongers, is frequently thrown into open dustholes, and was described by a witness as lying for weeks decomposing and poisoning the atmosphere of the close courts. In Liverpool, it was stated, that in houses in which all the rooms were not occupied, cellars and even parlours are frequently used as receptacles for decaying refuse, and where the dustbins were outside the house they were placed just under the windows. A member of a building firm who has had large experience in the erection of dwellings for the working classes, said that he had no doubt that the neglect of dustbins was the means of communicating scarlet fever to whole rows of houses.

A recital of the law as to the removal of dust, ashes, &c., will here be convenient.

First, as to the metropolis—

The vestry or district board, as the case may be, must—(*a*) appoint and employ persons; or, (*b*) contract with some company or persons for collecting and removing all dirt, ashes, rubbish, and filth in houses and places within their parish or district. The scavengers so employed or contracted with, or their servants, are to perform their duties on such days, and at such hours, and in such manner as the vestry or district board from time to time appoint. The penalty for neglect of duty on the part of the scavenger is a sum not exceeding 5*l.* for every offence (18 & 19 Vict. c. 120. s. 125). An occupier or person who refuses or does not permit any soil, dirt, ashes, or filth to be taken away by the scavengers, or who obstructs the scavengers in the performance of their duty, is liable for every offence to a penalty not exceeding 5*l.* (18 & 19 Vict. c. 120. s. 126).

Second, as to urban sanitary districts, *i.e.*, boroughs, Local Government districts, and Improvement Act districts — Every urban sanitary authority may, and when required by order of the Local Government Board, must undertake or contract for—(*a*) the removal of house refuse from premises; (*b*) the cleansing of ashpits, either for the whole or any part of the district. If any person removes, or obstructs the authority or contractor in removing, any of the matters above mentioned, which are authorised to be removed by the authority, he is liable for the offence to a penalty not exceeding 5*l.* (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55. s. 42). If the authority, who have themselves undertaken or contracted for the removal of house refuse from premises, or the cleansing of ashpits, fail, without reasonable excuse, after notice in writing, from the occupier of any house within their district, requiring them to remove any house refuse, or to cleanse any ashpit belonging to the house, or used by the occupiers of it, to cause the same to be removed or cleansed, as the case may be, within seven days, the authority will be liable to pay to the occupier of the house a penalty not exceeding 5*s.* for every day during which the default continues after the expiration of the period of seven days (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55. s. 43). But where the sanitary authority do not themselves undertake or contract for—(*a*) the removal of house refuse; (*b*) the cleansing of ashpits belonging to any premises; they may make byelaws imposing the duty of cleansing

or removal, at such intervals as they think fit, upon the occupier of the premises.

The sanitary authority may also make byelaws for the prevention of nuisances arising from filth, dust, ashes, and rubbish (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55. s. 44). The authority may provide in proper and convenient situations receptacles for the temporary deposit and collection of dust, ashes, and rubbish; and they may also provide fit buildings and places for the deposit of the matters collected by them (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55. s. 45).

Although this is not the place for the consideration of matters connected with rural sanitary districts, it may be mentioned that the provisions in force are the same as in urban sanitary districts, except those set out in the last paragraph above.

WATER SUPPLY.

The water supply of London and the great towns is better than it was, but its inadequacy is still the cause of much unhealthiness and misery. The single water supply for an entire tenement house, often many stories high, has already been mentioned. The supply, it has been stated by witnesses, is in some parts of London very uncertain, and when it is drawn it is kept by the poor in tubs, sometimes in sleeping rooms, there being no store accommodation in most of the small dwellings. Even where there is a supply in the houses a large number of them are supplied from one and the same cistern for the purposes of flushing the closet and for drinking. The cistern is sometimes uncovered, and is often close to the closet-pan and to the dust heap.

Shaftesbury, 175. Boodle, 930. Dunkinson, 4388, &c. Bird, 4965. Jennings, 3063. Tripe, 9635.

The cutting off of the water supply by water companies on account of nonpayment of the rate also leads to much evil. Water companies are usually empowered to cut off the supply when there is an offence under section 54 of the Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847 (10 & 11 Vict. c. 17), in cases where there has been an omission to provide a proper cistern with fittings, or to keep it in repair; or under section 57 of that Act if there has been a refusal to admit a person authorised by the company to examine the premises with a view to detecting waste or misuse of water; or where, under section 16 of the Waterworks Clauses Act, 1863 (26 & 27 Vict. c. 93), a consumer is guilty of acts or default tending to waste, misuse, undue consumption, or contamination of water. Many of the companies also are empowered by their Acts to make regulations as to fittings with a view to the prevention of waste, misuse, undue consumption, and contamination of water, and for a contravention of these regulations the water supply may be cut off.

WATER-CLOSETS.

The closet accommodation is itself most defective in spite of the extensive power confided to local authorities by the law in this respect. In Clerkenwell there are cases, as described, where there is not more than one closet for 16 houses. In a street in Westminster, a witness stated that there was only one for all the houses in the street, 30 or 40 people inhabiting each house; and that it was open and used by all passers by. In other parts of London a similar state of things was said to exist, compared with which the one closet accommodation to each tenement house of many families is a satisfactory arrangement. In St. Luke's closets

Jennings, 2913. Compton, 666. Compton, 728. Powell, 4108.

Williams, 5832. Dawes, 3865. Bates, 4128. Billing, 5116. Barnett, 6960. Vivian, 8204.

were found in the cellars in a most disgraceful state of filth and stench, and close to the water supply. In the same parish it seems to be no uncommon thing for the closets to be stopped and overflowing for months. In some parts of London they are used as sleeping places by the houseless poor of the class who haunt the staircases. In Bristol privies actually exist in living rooms: and elsewhere in the provinces there are instances where no closet accommodation at all is attached to the dwellings of the labouring classes.

Noxious Trades.

Compton, 730. Billing, 5047. Sims, 5620.

Noxious trades are a grave source of insanitary conditions especially when carried on in already unhealthy dwellings. Rag-picking is a powerful means of conveying disease owing to its filth.. Sackmakers and matchbox makers often do all their business in the room in which their families live and sleep. The latter have to keep their paste warm, and the smell of it is most offensive. The most pernicious of the trades, however, is rabbit pulling, in which the fur is pulled from the skins, making the atmosphere most offensive, owing to the process adopted in the trade, and the fluff-laden atmosphere has the most harmful effect upon the lungs. Haddock curing and smoking are perhaps more disagreeable than dangerous, but the practice of costermongers storing in their rooms and under their beds their unsold stock, watering it in the morning to give it an appearance of freshness, must be the means of bringing into the houses large quantities of decomposing matter.

Sims, 5620. Windebank, 1493.

The sanitary evils last mentioned are independent of the condition of the buildings in which they are found, but there are also evils which are directly connected with the structural defects of the houses apart from the absence of sanitary appliances.

Structural Defects.

It has been shown how many of the dwellings of the poor were originally built for different purposes from those to which they are now put. The middle class house intended for the use of one family has usually gone through vicissitudes not calculated to improve the structure before it reaches the condition of a low class tenement house. When the causes of the present condition of the homes of the working classes are examined, it will be seen how the property on many estates has passed for long periods out of the effective control of its nominal owners, with the consequence of utter disregard for the condition in which it is kept. For the present it is sufficient to point out what is the actual condition of houses occupied by the poor, both on such estates and elsewhere.

Jennings, 3063.

In York Place, Clerkenwell, the walls were described as so damp that the paper was hanging in shreds. The sink which should carry off all the wet was upon the highest part of the ground, so that the water lay about in pools. There were no back yards and no back ventilation. These last-named defects are among the most mischievous evils attaching to poor dwellings in populous neighbourhoods. "A very large number of them have no back yards" is the description given after a house-to-house visitation in Clerkenwell this year, and the houses in this condition would seem to be without washhouses too. In the

Jennings, 3063.

Jennings, 2907.

neighbourhood of Tottenham Court Road the back rooms of certain houses are described as being dark, because, where the yard should be, what is termed a cottage three storeys high was built within two yards of the back windows of the front house. Instances might be multiplied from other parts of London. At Bristol houses stand back to back with air and light blocked out. At Newcastle there are very tall houses in the old part of the city built back to back or with no proper yards, and at Doncaster there are a large number without any back ventilation. Even where the back to back system does not exist, houses are often constructed so that the inhabitants obtain as little light and ventilation as possible. The City Baths is a large block of buildings in St. Luke's containing nearly 100 sets of rooms, one half of which are built round what would be a quadrangle or courtyard if it were large enough, but it being on the contrary very small in comparison with the height of the structure the rooms built round it look out upon what is practically only a narrow shaft, and are consequently nearly dark. In Bermondsey houses were said to be rotten from age. In Southwark houses were falling down from decay, and some of them had large cracks and holes in the walls large enough for a man to enter. In Liverpool, where extensive improvements have been effected, but where the death-rate is still unfortunately very high, houses were described to be in the last stage of dilapidation. The windows contained little glass and even the sashes had disappeared. Few of the roofs were rain-tight, and the walls were alive with vermin. In some cases the walls were crumbling away exuding a green slime, and so rotten that a stick might be thrust through.

Bird, 4951. Mearns, 5392. Barnett, 6960. Armstrong, 7565. Wilson, 8307. Dawes, 3836. Dixon, 4635. Mearns, 5378. Farrie, 13,459.

It will be in place to mention here the existence of cellar dwellings contrary to law as laid down by the Metropolis Management Acts of 1855 and 1862, and in section 72 of the Public Health Act, 1875, for places outside the metropolis. The provisions of these enactments cannot be said to be vexatious. In London, in the case of underground rooms and cellars occupied separately as dwellings before the passing of the Act of 1855, there must be an area of 3 feet wide in every part from 6 inches below the floor of the room or cellar to the surface of the ground adjoining, and extending the full length of the side, and this area, to the extent of 5 feet long and 2 feet 6 inches wide, is to be in front of the window, and to be open or covered only with open iron gratings. In London underground rooms or cellars not occupied separately as dwellings before the passing of the Act of 1855 must be at least 7 feet in height from the floor to the ceiling, 1 foot of this height being above the surface of the footway of the street adjoining, and there must be, outside the room or cellar, an open area 3 feet wide from 6 inches below the level of the floor up to the surface of the footway. In the provinces the Public Health Act, 1875, only permits the occupation as separate dwellings of cellar or underground rooms which were lawfully so let or occupied at the time of the passing of the Public Health Act, 1875, and in these cases it is requisite that the room or cellar shall be 7 feet in height from the floor to the

CELLAR DWELLINGS.

Armstrong, 7558.

ceiling, 3 feet of which must be above the surface of the street adjoining, and outside the room or cellar there must be extending along the entire frontage from 6 inches below the level of the ground up to the surface of the street an open area of 2 feet 6 inches wide in every part. It is certain, however, that these far from stringent regulations are very frequently infringed.

Taylor, 4817. Billing, 4997. Mearns, 5434–9.

In Draper's Place, St. Pancras, there was described to be a kitchen, 12 feet by 10, and only 6½ feet high, entirely underground, the ceiling being below the level of the street, and this was inhabited by nine persons. In Whitechapel it was stated that the form of moving families out of one cellar was sometimes attempted by the sanitary officer, but that the disturbed family would go to another cellar, and their condemned habitation be occupied again by other persons. Evidence was given of the existence of inhabited underground cellars in the neighbourhood of Grosvenor Square, which were damp, quite dark, and without any ventilation, and in which the inhabitants were never free from illness. In Newcastle-on-Tyne the instances of inhabited basements are very numerous. In one extensive parish inhabited exclusively by artisans the whole of the underground rooms without exception are let as dwellings, and their condition is most pernicious to health. Nevertheless, the medical officer of that city states that miserable as they are they comply with the requirements of the Public Health Act.

Structural Defects Generally. Young, 6068. Sowerbutts, 13,852.

It is perhaps needless to give a detailed description of the way in which many modern houses are run up for the working classes. What is called "jerry building" is too well known to need evidence to prove its characteristics. There can be no doubt but that the houses are often built of the commonest materials, and with the worst workmanship, and are altogether unfit for the people to live in, especially if they are a little rough in their ways. The old houses are rotten from age and neglect. The new houses often commence where the old ones leave off, and are rotten from the first. It is quite certain that the working classes are largely housed in dwellings which would be unsuitable even if they were not overcrowded.

Effects of Overcrowding.

In considering what are the effects moral and material of the present conditions of the housing of the working classes, especially in the Metropolis, it will be convenient still to deal with overcrowding as a centre evil around which most of the others group themselves. The facts and figures which have been quoted in known instances where persons of all ages occupy the same room at all hours would be sufficient to establish the moral evil of the single room system, even if specific corroborative evidence were not forthcoming both as to the prevalence of this evil and also as to the widespread existence of the system which is the cause of it. Such evidence, however, is not wanting, and Lord Shaftesbury's own words, which he bore out by instances within his own knowledge, prove how seriously one of such wide experience regarded the condition of things testified to by a large number of witnesses.

He said, "The effect of the one room system is physically and morally beyond all description. In the first place, the one room system always leads as far as I have seen to the one bed system. If you go into these single rooms you may sometimes find two beds, but you will generally find one bed occupied by the whole family, in many of these cases consisting of father, mother, and son; or of father and daughters; or brothers and sisters. It is impossible to say how fatal the result of that is. It is totally destructive of all benefit from education. It is a benefit to the children to be absent during the day at school, but when they return to their homes in one hour they unlearn everything they have acquired during the day." Shaftesbury, 19. Aysh, 1535.

IMMORALITY.

The overcrowded condition of some single rooms occupied by families in St. Luke's has already been mentioned. In some cases where grown up sons and daughters sleep in the same rooms, lodgers are taken in in addition to the regular inmates, a fact which greatly increases the tendency to immorality. The Rev. W. Horsley, chaplain of the Clerkenwell Prison, has made a study of the sources of crime which comes under his personal notice, and he not only says that he entertains "the very strongest opinion" that overcrowding is a great cause of immorality, but he goes on to declare that every case of incest he has ever come across, with one exception, has been traceable to the one room system. The rector of Christchurch, Spitalfields, is equally positive from his own personal observation that there is a "great deal of incest" which is attributable to overcrowding, as are cases of juvenile prostitution which he has himself had knowledge of. These two clergymen are not alone in their opinion, but it is right to mention that there are other witnesses who either do not acknowledge the existence of the worst phases of immorality, or attribute instances of it to other causes. The curate of St. Philip's, Clerkenwell, thinks that the statements about incest and overcrowding are exaggerated, but says that he has known of cases which he would attribute rather to drunkenness than to the one-room system; he, however, allows that this system increases the liability to such occurrences. The vicar of St. Paul's, Bunhill Row, does not think that the bringing up of a large family in one room conduces to immorality provided no lodgers are taken in. His evidence on the point is as follows: "I have very carefully gone into the question of incest for some time, and especially of late, because of the remark that was made in that publication 'The Bitter Cry' that 'incest is common.' I have questioned not only scripture readers, city missionaries, and mission women, but also medical men who have been connected with poor parishes for years, and the testimony of all those, without exception, is that they have never known a single case of it. They have heard of cases but they have never known a case." The subject is not one which calls for speculative opinions, and there cannot be any question that every effort should be made to put an end to a state of things which familiarises children of tender years with scenes they ought never to witness. Aysh, 1522. Horsley, 2226–28. Billing, 4989. Shaftesbury, 19, 145. Mearns, 5461. Williams, 5872. Fryer, 1950, 2163–65. Smith, 3690.

Williams, 5869.

Mr. Marchant Williams says in connexion with this question, "I speak from knowledge of the facts: I have not the least "doubt about the overcrowding I have witnessed being productive "of immorality. I visit a house and ask the woman how many "rooms she occupies and she tells me two. Then I ask her, "'How many in the family?' Her answer is, 'We are 10 or 11.' "'How many beds?' 'Two beds.' 'I suppose you and your "'husband occupy one?' 'Yes, and two or three of the younger "'children.' Then there are an eldest son and an eldest daughter "aged perhaps 20 or 18 or 19, as the case may be, and when I "shrug my shoulders, the reply very often is, 'You must bear "'in mind that my daughter does not, or that my daughters do "'not, always come home at night, they do not always sleep "'here.' They are prostitutes, and are encouraged to be pros-"titutes by their parents."

Before leaving this painful subject, Your Majesty's Commissioners feel bound to put it on record that while the evidence before them reveals an undoubtedly bad state of things, they find that the standard of morality among the inhabitants of these crowded quarters is higher than might have been expected looking at the surroundings amid which their lives are passed.

MATERIAL EFFECTS OF OVERCROWDING.

Dixon, 4641.

Murphy, 1802.

If there has been some attempt to throw doubt on overcrowding and the single-room system being the immediate cause of immorality, no one has ventured to express an opinion that they are not most destructive to bodily health. It will be useful to explain at the outset that the published death-rates of particular localities are frequently deceptive and valueless, especially when an average is struck over a large district. They are often calculated only upon the deaths occurring in private houses, and thus exclude all persons dying in hospitals, asylums, and public institutions, and the very poor die comparatively seldom in their own homes. Notwithstanding this elimination the published death-rate sometimes reaches most alarming figures in localities where the one-room system prevails, and that without the outbreak of any epidemic. The rate of mortality in a certain quarter in St. Pancras was stated by the excellent medical officer of that parish, Mr. Murphy, to have reached in the year 1882 the enormous rate of 70·1 per thousand, but this was a calculation for a very small number of buildings. In Wellington Square, however, which was stated in evidence to belong to a member of the St. Pancras Vestry, the rate the same year was 53·7 per thousand, and in Derry Street 44·4 per thousand.

Murphy, 1639, 40.

AIR AND VENTILATION.

Murphy, 1736.

Bates, 4225.

Murphy, 1736.

It probably is not necessary to go into the question of the amount of cubic space of air per head in sleeping rooms necessary for the maintenance of health; the amount which the vestries were said in evidence to recognise as sufficient, 300 feet for each adult, is not excessive, being one half of the minimum allowed in prisons and police barracks, and greatly less than the amount allowed in workhouses, but the amount found in tenement houses often falls far short of that moderate allowance. Even if it did not fall short cubic space is not the only point to consider. There

must be a relation between cubic space and conveniences for ventilation. What is needed is unused air. Although the poor cannot observe the laws of sanitation in such dwellings as have been described, yet it is probably an instinctive knowledge of this want which makes many of them recognise that if they are to keep their children well they must keep them in the streets; if they attempt to make them stay indoors the result is sickness of various kinds. Infants cannot have this attention paid to their needs, and infantile mortality among the poor is enormous. Carelessness on the part of mothers is an accompaniment of overcrowding, and to these causes was ascribed the high death-rate among infants under five years of age in certain areas which were the subject of special investigation. Fryer, 1949. INFANTILE MORTALITY. Dawes, 3830. Murphy, 1859.

But there is a great deal of suffering among little children in overcrowded districts that does not appear in the death-rate at all. In St. Luke's ophthalmia, locally known as the blight, among the young is very prevalent, and can be traced to the dark, ill-ventilated, crowded rooms in which they live; there are also found scrofula and congenital diseases, very detrimental to the health of the children as they grow up. Among adults, too, overcrowding causes a vast amount of suffering which could be calculated by no bills of mortality, however accurate. Even statistics of actual disease consequent on overcrowding would not convey the whole truth as to the loss to health caused by it to the labouring classes. Some years ago the Board of Health instituted inquiries in the low neighbourhoods to see what was the amount of labour lost in the year, not by illness, but by sheer exhaustion and inability to do work. It was found that upon the lowest average every workman or workwoman lost about 20 days in the year from simple exhaustion, and the wages thus lost would go towards paying an increased rent for a better house. There can be little doubt but that the same thing is going on now, perhaps even to a greater extent. That overcrowding lowers the general standard, that the people get depressed and weary, is the testimony of those who are daily witnesses of the lives of the poor. The general deterioration in the health of the people is a worse feature of overcrowding even than the encouragement by it of infectious disease. It has the effect of reducing their stamina and thus producing consumption and diseases arising from general debility of the system whereby life is shortened. Nothing stronger could be said in describing one effect of overcrowding than that it is even more destructive to general health than conducive to the spread of epidemic and contagious diseases. Unquestionably a large amount of the infection which ravages certain of the great cities is due to the close packing of the population. Typhus is particularly a disease which is associated with overcrowding, and when once an epidemic has broken out its spread in overcrowded districts is almost inevitable. In Liverpool nearly one-fifth of the squalid houses where the poor live in the closest quarters are reported as always infected, that is to say, the seat of infectious disease. It is not surprising to learn that among the fever dens of that city overcrowding is growing less, owing to the fall of the population which mortality produces.. SICKNESS AMONG CHILDREN. Dawes, 3834. Billing, 4987. GENERAL SICKNESS AND DEPRESSION. Shaftesbury, 28. Fryer, 2154. INFECTIOUS DISEASE. Billing, 5241. Smith, 3725, &c. Shaftesbury, 29. Murphy, 1855, 1869. Farrie, 13,457.

ARE DIRT AND DRINK THE CAUSE OR CONSEQUENCE OF THE MISERY OF THE HOMES OF THE POOR?

Before leaving the effects upon the people of the evil conditions in which they live, and before entering upon the causes which have produced those evils, it will be well to consider in which of the two categories certain facts should be placed. The question, to quote the title of a pamphlet mentioned in evidence, is "Is it "the pig that makes the stye or the stye that makes the pig?" That is to say, are the dirty and drinking habits of a portion of the very poor who live in overcrowded dwellings the cause or the consequence of the miserable circumstances in which they are found?

Shaftesbury, 39.

It will be seen that the temperance question is involved in this examination, and the strictest caution is necessary not to let regret and disapproval of the ravages of intemperance divert attention from other evils which make the homes of the working classes wretched, evils over which they have never had any control. Lord Shaftesbury's testimony is worth quoting:

"I have both heard and read remarks that are very injurious to the masses of the people, and likely to prevent any reforms being made on their behalf, to the effect that they are so sunken, so lost, so enamoured of their filth, that nothing on earth can ever rescue them from it. Now I am certain that a great number of the people who are in that condition have been made so by the condition of the houses in which they live. I have no doubt that if we were to improve the condition of the dwellings, there would be a vast number of very bad cases who would continue in the filth in which they began; but I am sure that no small number might be rescued from it by being placed in better circumstances, might have greater enjoyment of health, and might thus be much improved in their general condition. This is the operation of it: At the time that these alleys that I speak of existed, we have known, from observation and evidence, a number of young people come up to London in search of work. A young artisan in the prime of life, an intelligent active young man, capable of making his 40*s.* or 50*s.* a week, comes up to London; he must have lodgings near his work; he is obliged to take, he and his wife, the first house that he can find, perhaps even in an alley such as I have described. In a very short time, of course, his health is broken down; he himself succumbs, and he either dies or becomes perfectly useless. The wife falls into despair; in vain she tries to keep her house clean; her children increase upon her, and at last they become reckless, and with recklessness comes drinking, immorality, and all the consequences of utter despair. Again, with regard to these tenement-houses, I should tell you that many of the immediate occupants in these tenement-houses are not exclusively to blame. You go up the rickety staircase, and you see the filth, but it is not their filth; it is the filth of the family that has just preceded them. I should suppose that there would be from 60,000 to 70,000 people in London who seldom remain three months in any one place. I remember that the rector of Regent Street, Gordon Square, told me that in the whole of his district he did not believe there was a single family that had been there more than three months,—they were always on the move. Look what happens. They go into these tenement-houses; they remain there a couple of months or three months; they go out again, and are succeeded by another family; they leave all their filth, nothing is cleared away. The other family come in, stay three months, and deposit their filth, and off they go. It is perfectly impossible for those poor people, with the best intentions, to keep their houses clean. Their hearts are broken, and they have not the means of doing it. They do not know how soon they shall go;

Shaftesbury, 39.

they are merely wanderers on the face of the earth. That migratory class is the most difficult one that we have to deal with.

Lord Shaftesbury's view is not shared by all the witnesses who were subsequently examined on the point. The Rev. J. W. Horsley considers that intemperance is both the cause and consequence of overcrowding, but chiefly the cause, and he points to the rare instances of a tectotaller being found living in a slum with his family in one room. There is a large concensus of evidence, both from the clergy and from other observers, that drink causes people to drift into the slums and to increase the overcrowding. It is shown that the continual drinking, not necessarily drunkenness, not only produces many of the evil habits, but causes too large a proportion of the slender wages of the poor to be spent thereby, and that if drinking were given up greater comfort would in many cases follow. Apart from the temperance question, it appears that in other respects the poorer classes often manage their incomes with imperfect economy. A case was mentioned where a family in receipt amongst them of large wages have crowded into a single room in order to have more money to spend in amusement; in the evenings they would all go the music hall, and on Sunday to Brighton and other places. This was, no doubt, an exceptional instance, but the overcrowding in such a case would not be compulsory, and the evidence points to the fact that there are many who could get into better lodgings if they would be more judicious and economical in their expenditure. It has been pointed out that men do not always take better rooms when their wages are better, and the poor cling to their miserable lodgings, and return to them in preference to living in better quarters. But apart from the demoralising influence of the surroundings in which their lives are passed, it must be borne in mind that the work and wages of a large proportion of the dwellers in the poorest quarters are most precarious, and the uncertainty of their incomes is sufficient cause to discourage them from struggling after better homes. It has been said of them that "they are never a shilling ahead of the world"; they have just enough to get through the week, and in the best of times are sure to be a week in arrear in purchasing power. Deeply involved in debt, they cannot move to a strange district where they are unknown and where they could not obtain credit.

Horsley, 2257.

Horsley, 2261.

Sharp, 1382–95, 1392.

Cobden, 4790.

Smith, 3691.

Smith, 3816.

Williams, 5922.

Wright, 4358.

PRECARIOUS INCOMES OF THE POOR.

Sims.

Sims, 5767–9.

Dirt is an evil almost as conducive to social misery as drinking and other self-indulgence. Dirty homes are said to be due to the habits of the people. Some of them seem to be quite indifferent to the dirt; but there is excuse for their indifference. There are houses inhabited by the poor the floors of which a woman could not scrub, because they are absolutely rotten, and the more that is done to them the worse they become, so under these conditions the most cleanly woman could not be clean, even if the supply of water were at all times sufficient, and this has been shown not to be the case. The warmest apologist for the poorest classes would not assert the general prevalence of cleanly habits amongst them.

DIRTY HOMES.

Bates, 4163.

Jennings, 3232.

Dawes, 4060. Murphy, 1727. Mearns, 5388. Houldey, 7478.

On the contrary, there is the most lamentable ignorance on all sanitary matters, which explains their objection to the circulation of air, and why they block up ventilators, and from choice keep the corpses of their dead for many days in their living rooms before burial. Education is necessary to counteract the results of habits which, uninterrupted by outside influences, have become second nature. In criticising the tendency of the very poor to overcrowd, and their objection to ventilation, it must never be forgotten, however, that the human body has a natural desire and need for warmth, and that the circulation of fresh air, which is necessary to the health of a well-nurtured body, chills the half-starved ill-clad frames of the men and women whose homes have been described. It is common to find an absence of bed-clothes among the scanty appointments of the wretched dwellings, and there is little wonder that the inhabitants huddle together and aggravate the danger of their overcrowding by blocking out the draughts of air that have no virtue for them.

Destructive Habits.

Before quitting the subject of the habits of the dwellers in the poor districts, mention should be made of the destructive faculty which often results in wanton damage to fittings and to the structure of the houses. It is sometimes said, that if a certain class of the poor were put into decent dwellings, they would forthwith wreck them and reduce them to the condition of the most miserable. It must be remembered that struggling industrious workers and the semi-criminal class often live side by side—sometimes under the same roof. The latter are the destructive class, and there is no doubt that in certain quarters, inhabited both by honest and by disreputable persons, taps are wrenched off and sold for old metal, wooden dustbins are broken up and burned for fuel, and property of every kind is destroyed in the most ruthless manner.

Hill, 9122. Horsley, 2236. Bates, 4185. Sims, 5673.

Drink.

To return, however, to the question whether drink and evil habits are the cause or consequence of the condition in which the poor live, the answer is probably the unsatisfactory one that drink and poverty act and re-act upon one another. Discomfort of the most abject kind is caused by drink, but indulgence in drink is caused by overcrowding and its cognate evils, and the poor who live under the conditions described have the greatest difficulty in leading decent lives and of maintaining decent habitations.

Sims, 5698. Billing, 5278–9. Fryer, 2158–9.

CAUSES.

Turning to the unquestioned causes which produce overcrowding and the generally lamentable condition of the homes of the labouring classes, the first which demands attention is the poverty of the inhabitants of the poorest quarters, or, in other words, the relation borne by the wages they receive to the rents they have to pay. This is not the place for a full discussion of the wage question. It will be sufficient to attempt to consider what are the usual incomes of the classes especially under investigation.

Shaftesbury, 110–115.

In considering the rates of wages, whether high or low, hereafter to be quoted, sight must never be lost of the precarious condition of the earnings of many of the working classes. Evidence has been given to show how uncertain is the employment of the majority, how a period of comparative prosperity may be followed by a period of enforced idleness, and how consequently their existence and subsistence can only be described as from hand to mouth. But even if employment were regular, the wages are so low that existence must be a struggle at the best of times. RATES OF WAGES.

A large class of persons whose earnings are at the lowest point are the costermongers and hawkers, whose average appears to be not more than 10*s.* or 12*s.* a week. This represents continuous toil, and although the income is a most precarious one, yet it is not rendered so by days and seasons of idleness as is the case in occupations about to be mentioned, but it is dependent upon the state of the market. The large class of dock labourers follow such an uncertain employment that their average wage is said by some witnesses to be not more than 8*s.* or 9*s.* a week, and at the highest is put down as from 12*s.* to 18*s.* a week. 5*d.* an hour is about the rate paid, but unfortunately the supply of this unskilled labour is so much in excess of the demand that these people are not employed upon the average more than two days a week. The average of labourers' wages among the residents in Clerkenwell is said to be about 16*s.* a week, and this of course means that there are many who earn less. This also is about the figure at which labour is said to be obtainable at Bristol. Sack-making and slop-tailoring are two occupations carried on to a great extent in the homes of the poor, and they are both remunerated at starvation wages. Artizans of course command a higher wage, and 25*s.* a week seems to be an ordinary rate for many of that class who inhabit tenement houses. There is, however, a great fluctuation in wages, and it is very difficult to strike an average. A list of occupations of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Mary Charterhouse will be found in the Appendix, and it will be seen that there are upwards of 100 callings followed by the heads of families in the miserable district lying between Golden Lane and Whitecross Street. The vicar of St. Mary's, who prepared this list, suggested that 20*s.* a week might be taken as their average wage. If that be adopted as the basis of the calculation of the ratio between wages and rent, it will display some of the difficulties which the poor meet in their struggle to pay their way. Not that any average can be deemed wholly satisfactory. A small area investigated will present features which do not exist in another district, perhaps within a stone's throw, and if 20*s.* a week be taken as a general average it does not follow that the same average will be true of other parts of the metropolis. It can only be used after comparison with other calculations as an approximate estimate. In some cases there ought to be a relief upon the pressure on their means by the contributions of the other wage-earning members of a family. This calculation does not take into account any additions which may be made to the EXAMPLES OF WAGES.

Taylor, 4857–8.

Shaftesbury, 47.

Mearns, 5489.

Price, 7361.

Channon, 4277–8.

Wright, 4342.

Dunkinson, 4415.

Willett, 4444.

Fryer, 2005.

Barnett, 7168.

Billing, 5223–29.

Sharp, 1358.

Dawes, 3933.

Smith, 3691.

Fryer, 2039–41.

income of the head of the family by the earnings of others of its members, as to which the evidence is conflicting and inconclusive.

RENT.

In examining the question of rents all consideration of model dwellings, such as the Peabody Buildings, will for the present be reserved. The facts now to be ascertained are what are the working classes, who are unaided by any charitable or philanthropic housing enterprises, called upon to pay as rent in the open market for their dwellings, and what relation does that payment bear to their average earnings.

PROPORTION OF INCOME SPENT IN RENT.

Williams, 5807, &c.

Williams, 5813.

Mr. Marchant Williams, Inspector of Schools for the London School Board, has given valuable evidence on this point. From personal investigation of parts of the parishes of Clerkenwell, St. Luke's, St. Giles, Marylebone, and other poor quarters of London, he finds that 88 per cent. of the poor population pay more than one fifth of their income in rent; 46 per cent. pay from one fourth to one half; 42 per cent. pay from one fourth to one fifth; and only 12 per cent. pay less than one fifth of their weekly wages in rent. These figures are gathered from an inquiry extending over nearly 1,000 dwellings taken at random in different poor parts of the metropolis. Among them 3*s.* 10¾*d.* is the average rent of one room let as a separate tenement, 6*s.* of two-roomed tenements, and 7*s.* 5¼*d.* of three-roomed tenements. Rents in the congested districts of London are getting gradually higher, and wages are not rising, and there is a prospect, therefore, of the disproportion between rent and wages growing still greater. Corroborative evidence is not wanting to show that the witness just quoted has erred, if at all, on the side of moderation in his rent figures. In South St. Paneras, for instance, 4*s.* a week was paid for one room, 10 feet by 7, at 10, Prospect Terrace; the same was the case at 3, Derry Street. At 22, Wood Street 5*s.* was paid for a single room, and if cheaper quarters were needed, an underground kitchen must be sought, which commanded a rent in this neighbourhood of 2*s.* 6*d.* a week. At 8, Stephen Street, Tottenham Court Road, 5*s.* a week was paid for a single room in a state of great decay. In Chapel Row and Wilmington Place, Clerkenwell, 3*s.* 9*d.*, 4*s.* 6*d.*, and 5*s.* were the rents for single rooms. In Spitalfields the average rental for one room was from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* a week. Most of these quotations are for unfurnished rooms. In Notting Hill 4*s.* or 5*s.* a week per room was said to be the rent of furnished rooms, and in the Mint 4*s.* 6*d.* for the same accommodation; but the character of the furniture is, as a rule, in its wretchedness beyond description. Instances might be multiplied from the metropolitan evidence, but enough has been quoted. It is only necessary to add, that many of the tenements just cited are the dwellings which have been referred to as instances of extreme overcrowding.

EXAMPLES OF RENTS.

Cobden, 4721–22, 4730–1.

Taylor, 4816, 4855.

Bird, 4932.

Compton, 645–49.

Billing, 5030.

Houldey, 7479–80.

Price, 7358.

Barnett, 6947–49.

In the provinces the rents of houses and of tenements are much lower than in London. Three shillings a week was quoted as being paid in one instance for a single cellar in Newcastle, and 2*s.* 6*d.* was said to be the usual price of a single room in that city, but rents, as a rule, for obvious reasons, such as the comparative

ncapness of land and building, run much lower in provincial towns than in London. For the present, then, while not losing sight of the condition of the poor in provincial centres of population, it will be convenient to consider certain phases of the question as it especially exists in the metropolis. The figures quoted have shown that the highness of rent in proportion to earnings is undoubtedly a potent and principal cause of the condition in which the poor are housed. What, then, are the causes chiefly conducing to the rate of rent which is demanded and obtained from the poor for their inadequate accommodation? The reasons which make the supply of dwellings for the working classes fall short of the demand for them must be first examined.

Macliver, 7285.
Woodman, 8450–52.
Vivian, 8163.
Holland, 8708.

CAUSES OF HIGH RENTS.

High rents are due to competition for houses and to the scarcity of accommodation in proportion to the population. It might be asked why cannot the pressure be relieved by a distribution of the now crowded masses over the area of the metropolis, inasmuch as it is a well known fact that for various causes certain districts contain a large number of uninhabited houses, many of which are suitable for the working classes. The answer to this query, which will have to be referred to again when the question of suburban residence is dealt with, is that an enormous proportion of the dwellers in the overcrowded quarters are necessarily compelled to live close to their work, no matter what the price charged or what the condition of the property they inhabit. It has been seen how crowded the poor central districts of London are, and one reason is that for a large class of labourers it is necessary to live as nearly as possible in the middle of the town, because they then command the labour market of the whole metropolis from a convenient centre. Sometimes they hear of casual work to be had at a certain place provided they are there by 6 o'clock the next morning, so they must choose a central position from which no part of the town is inaccessible. The dock labourers are a class that must be on the spot, because they have always to wait for calls that may arise at any moment. When ships are going out or coming in the labourers may be seen by hundreds standing in single file at the dock gates waiting for their turns, as those who get in first are first employed. The Mint in Southwark on the south of the Thames and the central district on the north are the furthest distances from their work where these people can live. Then there is the extensive and hard-working population of costermongers. They are found in large numbers in the dense thoroughfares of St. Luke's, Clerkenwell, and St. Pancras, and in the low districts of Southwark. There are strong reasons for their living on the spot where their wares find a ready sale. The poor form their own markets, and there is the same difficulty of moving a market that there is of moving an industry, and both of these facts increase the pressure of overcrowding. The only choice a costermonger seems to have in settling his residence is either to live near the locality where he obtains a market for his goods or else near the place where he lays in his stock; hence, on the latter account, their dwellings are also found in the crowded courts round about Drury Lane, within reach of Covent Garden. Nor are there wanting

COMPULSION TO LIVE NEAR WORK.

Brighty, 3498, 3534, 3548.
Cobden, 4797.
Shaftesbury, 47.
Compton, 690–1.
Mearns, 5347–48.
Jennings, 3039.
Bates, 1437.
Windebank, 1493.
Cobden, 4742.

Sims, 5620. Fryer, 1969. Young, 5950. Hill, 8846. Sharp, 1305. instances of skilled artizans who likewise must live close to their work: for instance, there are the watchmakers of Clerkenwell, because the apparatus required in their trade is so costly that no man can afford to have the whole of it; he therefore borrows from his friends, and may have to borrow three or four times in the course of the day. Then there are the women who must take their work home, such as those who work for the city tailors; and the girls who are employed in small factories, such as those for artificial flowers; these also have to be in attendance morning after morning (like the dock labourers) whether there is work for them or not, for if they are not within calling distance they lose it. Fryer, 1911. This precarious element in the struggle for employment is thus a most powerful cause of the pressure upon habitable space. If regular work was to be had by all who want it without any uncertainty, the poor might pick and choose the locality for their dwellings, but as it is, it has been noticed that when they have made an attempt to leave an overcrowded neighbourhood for some better locality at a little distance away, after a short sojourn many of them have often been compelled to come back to be near their work. Gregory, 4903.

The mention of the women and girls suggests another reason why certain localities are overcrowded. The subsidiary employment of wife and children has to be taken into consideration when the poor choose a place of residence. Whatever the contributions of these members of a family may be to the maintenance of the household, there is no doubt that the work of charwomen and of seamstresses, and the labour in which children are employed, attract great numbers to the densely populated districts which provide such employment, and away from the suburbs where such work would be out of reach. There is moreover to be considered the difficulty many of the poor have in moving from a neighbourhood on account of the credit which they have built up with the little shopkeepers of the district. Again there is the question of cheap markets. In the remoter suburbs food is much dearer than in the centre of the town, where the costermongers who themselves help to increase the pressure on space compete with the small shopkeepers as purveyors of provisions at a lower rate than they can be obtained in remoter districts: to these causes must be added the natural reluctance that is found among the poor to leave their old neighbours and form new associations.

MIGRATORY HABITS. Fryer, 1931. These may be looked upon as minor causes of the evils in question, for they do not prevent a very large proportion of the poor being migratory. It is difficult to obtain accurate statistics on this point, but it is likely that more than one half the population of certain poor districts are constantly shifting. It might be thought that this would relieve the pressure, and that the migratory habits of the people if properly directed might solve the problem of the equal distribution of the population over the town, but the constant moving is as a rule within a very small circle. Fryer, 1985. The motive is the search for work, and it has been seen that the centre of the town is the most favourable locality for that purpose, and therefore the flittings are not to districts where

ere is ample room. Some men it is true do go to a distance in arch of work; but under these circumstances their families are ft in London to swell the poverty-stricken overcrowding, while e men go as lodgers to swell the overcrowding in far off stricts.

The migratory habits of the poor, so far from relieving the ercrowded districts, add considerably to the competition for uses and consequently send up the rents. There are first of all e migrations from one part of London to another, caused as has en mentioned by the shifting of the town population. Then Billing, 5054. ere are cases of sudden pressure, as, for instance, the influx into hitechapel and Spitalfields of foreign Jews, whose religious servances, apart from their habits of life, require them to live gether. Again, there are the labourers from other large towns, Fryer, 2071. d also the immigrants from villages, who come up with the idea at in London they cannot fail to get work; that "in the untry one may get it but in London one must get it." As if Billing, 5216. metropolis were not full enough without any artificial en- agement of the increase of its population, contractors are and to advertise for provincial labour when there is labour in cess close to their doors; though there is justification for their ng so from the fact that countrymen are thought to be better e to accomplish the heaviest kinds of work, the unfavourable ditions in which the townspeople live tending to unfit them the more laborious exertion. This all tends to increase the ssure, and to maintain the disproportion between rent and ges.

The pressure, with all its evil consequences, caused by immi- DEMOLITIONS. tion is small compared to that produced by demolition. It has Shaftesbury, n seen how great the necessity is for the poor to live near their 213. upations; for that reason when property occupied by working Carter, 4891. ple is pulled down the effect is rather to crowd the neighbour- buildings than to drive the people far off. When the demo- ons are so extensive that the people have to depart, then the sequence is that new slums are created elsewhere, as has been nd to be the case in Lisson Grove and in the north part of tting Hill. The consequence of the displaced people moving Shaftesbury, o districts where the demand for labour is not very great is 70, 71. t all are half starved, the old inhabitants as well as the new iers.

Demolitions, and the consequent displacement of population, VARIOUS CLASSES OF DEMOLITIONS.* effected for various purposes. There are demolitions for rance purposes undertaken by owners for the improvement of r property, or by the local authority under certain Acts already rred to, viz., for the purpose of erecting artizans' dwellings in place of the buildings removed. There are demolitions for widening and improvement of public streets; there are those ch take place in consequence of the erection of public buildings,

* It may be pointed out that a good deal of evidence on this subject was n before the Committee of 1882 (*see* p. 43 of Report of 1882).

such as board schools; and there are those carried out by railway companies in the construction and enlargement of their lines and stations.

Shaftesbury, 88. Demolitions have taken place for all these purposes, and although the health and appearance of London have vastly improved in consequence of some of them, and though others have been a great boon to the better class of the poor, yet they have been accompanied with the severest hardship to the very poor, increasing overcrowding and the difficulty of obtaining accommodation, and sending up rents accordingly.

Taking the classification of demolitions in the order named, it may be asserted, without denying the consideration which some property owners have shown for the welfare of the inhabitants, that demolitions made by owners have for their main purpose the improvement of the value of the property, whether these "owners" be landlords whose leases are falling in, or those who purchase property for commercial purposes. This is seen in the case of the great demolitions which take place in consequence of the warehouses of the City of London spreading over the adjoining parish
Dawes, 4030. of St. Luke's and driving on the poor northwards to already crowded districts. Rookeries are destroyed, greatly to the sanitary and social benefit of the neighbourhood, but no kind of habita-
Compton, 672. tion for the poor has been substituted. This is the extreme instance of everything being sacrificed to the improvement of the property. There are also cases where the landlord, on the leases falling in and the property coming into his own hands, removes the unsatisfactory houses and builds a better class of dwellings.
Compton, 667. The consequence of such a proceeding is that the unhoused population crowd into the neighbouring streets and courts when the demolitions commence, and when the new dwellings are completed little is done to relieve this increased pressure, as the tenants are not the identical persons displaced; they are now picked and chosen, and those whose need is the greatest suffer most acutely.

Murphy, 1617. There are also the demolitions which take place under Mr. Torrens's and Sir Richard Cross's Acts. Such demolitions are undertaken in the interest of the public health and welfare. The houses so removed are generally in a hopelessly bad condition, and the number thus pulled down is very small compared to the number which on every ground ought to be removed. Nevertheless, a good deal of hardship is caused by this class of
Billing, displacement. The overcrowded state of Spitalfields is attributed
5022, 5146. in a great measure to such clearances, and the rise of rent, which
Mearns, 5494. has doubled in the Mint district, is largely owing to demolitions of the same kind. The question of the general effect upon the condition of the poor of the system of model dwellings will be considered later. At present only the immediate effect of the
Smith, 3678, &c. necessary displacement prior to their erection is in view. In St. Luke's the district has never yet recovered the pressure which
Williams, 5929. was caused by the pulling down for the building of what is known locally as Peabody Town. When the new model buildings are

mpleted the very poor displaced do not generally find accommo-tion in them, and therefore the overcrowding continues not-thstanding the new erections. The inhabitants of Great Wild reet seem to have suffered more than their share in consequence efforts being made for the amelioration of their condition; for t only did the erection of a board school cause the overcrowding be mentioned presently, but taken together with the demolitions the Drury Lane Peabody Buildings caused an increase of rent all the rooms of the neighbourhood from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a week.

Next come the street improvements which in London are Sharp, 1357.
nerally undertaken by the Metropolitan Board of Works. Such Motley,
the Gray's Inn Road improvements which have caused the 1540–1.
placed people to move into the already crowded parts of Dunkinson,
erkenwell, and into the bad streets of the other adjacent parishes, 4386, 4399.
ch as those round Leather Lane, in Holborn District. Such o is the Tooley Street improvement, the displacements in nsequence of which have increased the overcrowding in Ber-ndsey. Both the foregoing are cases of the removal of bad pperty aggravating the evils it is supposed to remedy. There also instances of the poor being turned out of decent and ll-ordered habitations to make room for a new street, as has urred in the destruction of the model lodging-houses in Dyott Shaftesbury,
eet for the sake of the new street in the St. Giles's and 28.
oomsbury improvement. The hardship is probably greater in s case than in others, as the poor thereby dispersed overcrowd surrounding neighbourhood and send up the rents; and often uld be forced to sink into a miserable mode of life after being ustomed to decency and cleanliness.

The sites for the erection of school board schools have to be Jennings,
en in the most crowded parts of the town, and this consequently 2923–25.
ps to increase the overcrowding and the rents of the neigh-rhood. Even when time has been given to the occupiers of perty thus purchased to move out gradually there has been at difficulty in getting rid of them, and when at last they have e it has only been to crowd the neighbouring streets, as was ease when the Great Wild Street site was taken, and tenants Young,
e displaced who for the most part could not go far as they got 5960, &c.
ir living in or about Covent Garden.

The subject of railway demolitions is a large one, which will e to be considered in various aspects. For the moment it will sufficient to glance at the effect and extent of them in their ring as a cause of overcrowding. The majority of the cases demolition have occurred during the last 25 or 30 years, as the er railways came largely through unoccupied ground. The Murphy,
placements of the population by the Midland Railway Company 1580, 1667.
Somers Town, for instance, have been a great cause of over- Cobden, 4706,
wding in the parish of St. Pancras; about 500 houses were 4713–15.
moved, and the inhabitants for the most part migrated to the Calcraft, 9973.
rounding neighbourhood. This would represent an influx Boodle, 863.
,000 persons to an already crowded district if the estimate of

12 to a house were taken. Without quoting further cases in evidence, attention may be called to the fact that the reason why railway companies often schedule and take the poorest properties, the demolitions of which cause the greatest misery, is that they have hitherto been the cheapest to obtain.

The foregoing are simply examples drawn from a mass of similar evidence to show that the pulling down of buildings inhabited by the very poor, whether undertaken for philanthropic, sanitary, or commercial purposes, does cause overcrowding into the neighbouring slums, with the further consequence of keeping up the high rents. Even if the classes so disturbed could afford to pay for better accommodation they have not the faculty to seek it. When notice is given they never seem to appreciate the fact that their homes are about to be destroyed until the workmen come to pull the roof from over their heads. Lord Shaftesbury described how the inhabitants have been seen like people in a besieged town, running to and fro, and not knowing where to turn. The evidence of the inability of the poor to protect themselves in this and in other particulars is conclusive.

Shaftesbury, 123.

FURTHER CAUSES OF THE EVIL.

Two more alleged causes of overcrowding and of sanitary evils in the metropolis remain for examination. The one is the relation between owners of property upon which the dwellings of the poor stand and the tenants of those dwellings, the other is the default of local authorities in using their legitimate powers.

RELATION OF GROUND LANDLORDS TO OCCUPIERS.

Compton, 667–80.

Shaftesbury, 21.

Compton, 682.

The freeholder of a building estate appears to be in practice not the responsible owner of the property for sanitary purposes. The terms of the leases provide that the tenant shall keep the house in repair, but the stringent conditions of the leases fall into disuse; the difficulty of personal supervision of the property is apt to grow greater, and the relations between the ground landlord and the tenant who occupies the house grow less and less. The multiplicity of interests involved in a single house and the number of hands through which the rent has to pass, causes the greatest doubt as to who is the person who ought to be called upon to execute repairs or to look after the condition of the premises. This is especially the case when building has taken place for which no trace of sanction can be found on the part of the ground landlord, the erections under such circumstances being often crowded on gardens or courts, the preservation of which would have been for the sanitary benefit of the existing houses.

MIDDLEMEN.

Compton, 610.

Much evidence has also been given as to the system of middlemen, of house jobbers, house farmers, or house knackers, for by all those titles are designated those persons who stand between the freeholder and the occupier, and who fix and receive the rent of the tenement houses.

Boodle, 811.

Sharp, 1272, 1325–26.

Fryer, 1915.

Barnett, 7169.

Hill, 8914.

In dealing with this system, Your Majesty's Commissioners are not founding their report on the evidence of those clergy, philanthropists, and local and other reformers, who have agreed in condemning it; they have preferred to confine themselves to the testimony of two witnesses who are intimately connected with the leasehold system. The first, Lord William Compton, is the

son of the owner of one of the largest properties in London on which middlemen are found; the second is Mr. Boodle, the agent to the Northampton as well as to the Westminster estate. From the evidence of these two witnesses it appears that the existence of the system of house farmers is in some measure owing to the preference for middlemen on the part of both the landlord and his man of business. Moreover, this evidence shows that there is an indisposition on the part of landlords to avail themselves stringently of the provisoes in their leases for re-entry and for the troublesome and costly process of ejectment of tenants in case of breach of covenant, the covenants usually including external and internal repairing, cleaning and painting, and the keeping in order of drains. Again, it was pointed out that landlords like to give short leases of decaying property, so that they may fall in when long leases expire, and the property can be dealt with as a whole more satisfactorily than it could be piecemeal. All these considerations appear to favour the middleman system, to which is attributed by Mr. Boodle the breaking up of houses built for single families into tenements, with all the evil and inconvenience attending that arrangement. This is also said to be the cause in a great measure of the enormous rents charged for the single rooms in tenement houses in which it has been seen the poor chiefly live in the worst parts of London. On the Clerkenwell Estate Lord William Compton went very carefully into some of the figures relating to houses leased from the Marquess of Northampton by certain house farmers. In Queen Street he ascertained the exact rents received by and paid to two persons of this class, who are also members of the Vestry of Clerkenwell. At No. 10, for instance, he found that the weekly rent of the front room was 12*s.*, of the back room 4*s.* 6*d.*, of the kitchen 3*s.*, of the first floor 13*s.*, and of the second floor 7*s.* This amounted to about 100*l.* a year, and the rent which the house jobber paid to Lord Northampton was 20*l.* a year. The agent to the Northampton Estate allows that a middleman might in a particular instance be making 150 per cent. per annum, not counting his outlay for repairs, but that the repairs are only wanted once in three or four years, and therefore in the other years he makes his 150 per cent. In what manner the repairs are carried out has already been shown in the evidence which described the condition of the houses in this and other poor quarters of the town. The house farmer is not at all anxious to encroach upon his profits, whether they are at the rate of 50 per cent. or 150 per cent., by periodical repairs. Lord William Compton stated that he shrank from calling to account the middleman for neglecting to repair, fearing that a rise in the rents would be the consequence of such proceeding. The average income of the tenants has already been mentioned, so it is not surprising that sometimes the middlemen had a difficulty in collecting the rents on a Monday morning, and their remedy in that case seems to be a threat to raise them still higher. It was stated by witnesses that if there were more official supervision, by means of improved local government to

Jennings, Brighty, Lefevre.
Compton, 758.
Boodle, 822.
Boodle, 794–98.
Boodle, 997.
Boodle. 810.
Boodle, 1222.
Compton, 655.
Boodle, 898.
Compton, 645.
Compton, 658.

Boodle, 95.

prevent overcrowding and to enforce sanitary requirements it would be impossible for middlemen to make the large per-centages they at present secure. This leads to the other great remaining cause of evil, the remissness of local authorities.

Local Government of the Metropolis.

Owen, 250, &c.

The metropolis, outside the city boundaries, is divided under the Metropolis Local Management Act into 23 areas under the jurisdiction of vestries, and 15 areas under district boards made up of representatives of the smaller parishes. These vestries and district boards are the local authorities for the enforcement of the Nuisances Removal Acts and of Mr. Torrens's Acts. The administration of Sir Richard Cross's Acts is in the hands of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which has the discretion of refusing schemes under these Acts on the ground that they ought to be

Owen, 329.

dealt with under Mr. Torrens's Acts. The Board of Works has, moreover, power of acting as though it were the local authority in case of the default of the local authority in putting in force Mr. Torrens's Acts, a power which, as already stated, has never been put in force.

The Sanitary Act of 1866, s. 35 (which will be dealt with in detail later), contains certain provisions, known as the tenement

Owen, 276.

provisions, authorising the local authority to make regulations for fixing the number of persons who may occupy a house or part of a house let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one family, for the registration and inspection of such houses, and for enforcing the provision therein of sanitary appliances. The Local

Owen, 283.

Government Board, as already explained, has the power, of which it has now made general use, to declare this enactment in force in any part of the metropolis. The mere putting in force of the enactment is, however, of no avail unless the authority is willing

Owen, 286.

to make regulations and when made to enforce them; and it has been found that only two of the local authorities in the metropolis have been energetically acting upon such regulations, some of the other bodies having almost forgotten that they had made regulations with regard to tenements.

The vestries and district boards have under 18 & 19 Vict. c. 120, power of appointing medical officers of health and inspectors of nuisances who are in no way subject to the Local Government Board or any other public department, either as to tenure of office

Owen, 260.

or as to salary. These powerful governing bodies are elected by

Jennings, 3204.

parishioners rated to the relief of the poor; but little interest is, as a rule, taken in the election by the inhabitants, instances having been known of vestrymen in populous parishes being returned by two votes on a show of hands. The fact that only two authorities out of 38, the vestry of Chelsea and the district board of Works of Hackney, have in the past been energetically taking action under the provisions of the Sanitary Act in respect of tenement houses, may be fairly taken as presumptive proof of supineness on the part of many of the metropolitan local authorities in sanitary matters, at all events as regards parishes which contain large numbers of such houses as would come under the Act. The proportion of inspectoral staff which is considered

dequate to the population in various parts of the metropolis may lso be taken as evidence of similar laxity of administration on the art of some of the local authorities. In Islington there is one Owen, 263, &c.
spector to 56,000 inhabitants ; in St. Pancras, one to 59,000 ; n Greenwich, one to 65,000 ; in Bermondsey, one to 86,000 ; and n Mile End, one to 105,000. Clerkenwell, with a population of Paget, 17,676.
9,000, employs the services of two sanitary inspectors, with an ssistant, who is, however, also sexton and coroner's officer ; it nnot, therefore, be considered as an extreme instance of inactivity this respect. Standing, as it does, half way between the least spected of the districts cited, and the case of St. James's, Vestminster, which has one inspector to every 9,000 population, will not be unfair to examine shortly the constitution of the estry of that parish as one of the local authorities which have the nitary condition of London in their keeping. This vestry con- Paget, 17,659.
sts of 72 members, of whom the average attendance is stated by Paget, 17,539–556, 17,561, 17,627.
r. Paget, the vestry clerk, to be from 25 to 30. There are on e vestry 13 or 14 persons who are interested in bad or doubtful operty, and they include several of the middlemen already ferred to. There are, moreover, 10 publicans on the vestry, Paget, 17,624.
ho, with the exception of one or two, have in this parish the Jennings, 2968.
putation of working with the party who trade in insanitary operty, and accordingly this party commands a working Paget, 17,660–673.
jority on the vestry. Taking the house farmers alone, it is und, from Mr. Paget's evidence, that they preponderate in very due proportion on the most important committees of the stry. On the works committee there are 10 out of the 14 use farmers referred to, on the assessment committee seven out the 14 appear. Enough has been said about the condition of e dwellings of the poor in this parish. It will suffice, therefore, Paget, 17,490.
mention that when the sanitary committee of the vestry (which Jennings, 3002–3.
s greatly influenced by its active chairman, whose zeal is said have caused his subsequent dismissal from it) recommended Brighty, 3418.
e enforcement of the tenement provisions of the Sanitary Act, Dawes, 3883.
e opposition of the vestry was sufficiently strong to indefinitely Murphy, 1640.
stpone the consideration of the recommendations. It is not Billing, 5109.
rprising to find that the sanitary inspectors whose tenure of ice and salary is subject to such a body should show indis- Sims, 5628, 5771.
sition to activity. The state of the homes of the working sses in Clerkenwell, the overcrowding and other evils which act Mearns, 5398.
d re-act on one another must be attributed in a large measure the default of the responsible local authority. Clerkenwell es not stand alone ; from various parts of London the same mplaints are heard of insanitary property being owned by embers of the vestries and district boards, and of sanitary in- ection being inefficiently done, because many of the persons ose duty it is to see that a better state of things should exist those who are interested in keeping things as they are.

In the provincial towns the conditions of existence among the rking classes differ in many respects from those which are nd in the metropolis. And one may go further and say that ch centre of population or district has local reasons for the

CAUSES OF EVILS IN THE PROVINCES.

state of things found there. It was pointed out, for instance, that in Birmingham the overcrowding was rather of houses upon small areas than of individuals in houses. It has been mentioned that the disproportion between rent and wages is not so large in the provincial towns as in London, but poverty is an important cause of the miserable condition of the homes of the working classes in them also. At Bristol the bulk of the people are said not to be able to afford to pay at the outside more than 1*s.* 3*d.* a week for their habitations. In that city it was stated in evidence that wages are low and pauperism is widespread. The demand for unskilled labour is decreasing, and another cause of the poverty here is said to be the wealthy charities of the city which attract the people thither. At Newcastle there has lately been great depression in the shipping and other trades, and thousands of men have been thrown out of work, with the consequence of the heads of families having little to spend in procuring accommodation. In all commercial centres this must always be looked for from time to time as a cause of overcrowding and general misery in the dwellings of the poor. There are, however, localities in which the greatest evils in respect of overcrowding are found accompanying the greatest prosperity. In small towns like Camborne, where the occupation of houses varies with the productiveness of the mines, there is great indisposition to lay out money on buildings which run a risk of usually standing empty, but these difficulties are aggravated by conditions imposed by landowners before they will part with their land for building purposes.

Barnett, 7119, 7121. Macliver, 7276. Barnett, 7172. Price, 7401–33. Angove, 8231.

The compulsion to live close to work is not such a difficulty in provincial towns as it is in the metropolis. With the exception of Liverpool, the towns are not of such a size that the workmen are forced to live at an excessive distance from their work, though instances were given from Cornwall, where miners could not find houses nearer than 10 miles from their occupation. Moreover, the very large class of persons not in continuous employment who select the middle of London because they are obliged to live at a centre accessible from all possible quarters whence work may come are not found to so considerable an extent even in the greatest provincial cities. In Newcastle the centre of the city is indeed overcrowded by a population which largely labours in the suburbs, and which would be more conveniently housed in the neighbourhood of the shipbuilding yards and docks outside. Evidence was certainly forthcoming that it was desirable that workmen in large provincial towns should live near their work, but seeing that the importance of it was advanced on the ground that a labouring man ought to be able to get home to his dinner, the necessity does not seem to exist in the same degree as in the metropolis.

Vivian, 7922. Barnett, 7027.

Demolitions are a fruitful cause of evil in the provinces, but not to the extent described in London, the reason chiefly being that in the largest towns labour, building, and ground, especially the latter, are much cheaper than in the metropolis. The clearances in Bristol for the erection of model lodging houses have

Macliver, 7228.

ereased the overcrowding in the old central part of the city, and ae demolitions for street improvements have had the same effect . Newcastle. Middlemen are found to some extent in Bristol. hey neglect the condition of the houses in their hands, but they o not seem to have raised the rents very much, and the system it exists in London cannot be said to be widely established in ae provinces. Price, 7343, &c. Macliver, 7301.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

Although the circumstances which led to the issuing of this ommission by Your Majesty had especial reference to the con- tion of the dwellings of the working classes in great centres of opulation, it was felt that the inquiry would be an incomplete ne if it disregarded the agricultural districts. Your Majesty's ommissioners, while recognising the necessity of extending their quiry into the housing of the rural working classes, could not il to acknowledge the large amount of information on this branch the subject contained in the evidence taken before and the pports made by the Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners ppointed by Your Majesty in 1867 to inquire into the employ- ent of children, young persons, and women in agriculture, and 1879 into the condition of the agricultural interest. These pports and the evidence taken before both Commissions were herefore considered to be in evidence before Your Majesty's ommissioners.

At the conclusion of their inquiry into working class dwellings urban centres of population Your Majesty's Commissioners ommenced their rural investigation by first calling a number of ersons who represented the interests of the agricultural labourers different counties. These witnesses gave evidence as to Essex, ent, Sussex, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somerset. Evidence as subsequently given by representatives of landowners, by rmers, and by clergymen and medical men who have devoted ttention to the subject. Their evidence referred not only to the ove-mentioned counties, but also to Norfolk, Durham, Cornwall, uckinghamshire, Cheshire, Worcestershire, and other counties.

The remarkable variety of opinions expressed by different itnesses as to the condition in which labourers' cottages are at esent found shows that the greatest diversity of condition exists, d that after certain local peculiarities are disposed of no general atements can be made as to one county being notorious for the d housing of the labouring classes, and another equally remark- le for its superior accommodation. The evidence about to be oted shows that while evils are found throughout the agri- ltural districts, there are no counties, the condition of which as investigated by Your Majesty's Commissioners, in which me improvement has not taken place.

To commence with instances of the defective housing of the ral working classes. Mr. Selby, an agent of the Agricultural abourers' Union, and formerly a labourer himself, testified to e condition of certain parts of Wiltshire, to which he had paid ecial attention. In one village he described several cottages which the structural defects were considerable. The bedrooms Selby, 14,205. Selby, 14,215–218.

in one ease were not high enough to stand up in, and in another ease two small bedrooms, eaeh of whieh was entirely filled by the bed, were oeeupied by a man and his wife and seven ehildren, from 16 years of age downwards. In another there was a ease of a widow and her family of six, the eldest son being 25, sleeping in one bedroom. At a third, a labourer and his daughter, with her husband and six ehildren, all slept in one bedroom, not more than 14 feet square, the sloping roof at the highest point being about 7 feet from the ground; but in that ease there appeared to be a downstairs room not used for sleeping purposes. In the rural distriets there is less plea of absolute neeessity for overerowding in sleeping rooms than in the metropolis, that is to say, the single room system, as it is found in the metropolis, has no existenee in agrieultural villages. Single room eottages—those eontaining only one room for all purposes—are found in rare eases; as a rule, the most miserably housed families in the rural distriets have another room in addition to the sleeping ehamber, and it is from habit or from the nature of the room that they do not utilise the living apartment for the purposes of sleeping. Two roomed houses in some loealities in this and in other eounties are very eommon, and it is in them that the worst overerowding exists. The struetural and sanitary eondition of some of the eottages in Wiltshire was deseribed to be very bad. At another village they were found to be falling to pieces from negleet; in some eases the bare thateh being visible upstairs and letting in the rain.

Selby, 14,232.
Selby, 14,246.
Selby, 14,256.
Selby, 14,291.
Selby, 14,306.

Mr. Samuel Pike, another agent of the Union, gave evidenee as to Dorset and parts of the adjaeent eounties. He deseribed the sanitary condition of eottages as very defeetive; some have no stairs but a ladder by whieh to walk up to the upper rooms, and no stone or board on the floors, only the earth, or perhaps worn-away eonerete. In this distriet Mr. Pike said that the eottages of the labourers ehiefly eontained one small room downstairs and two upstairs, and that there was under these eonditions overerowding of the kind deseribed. There was a case of 11 persons, two parents and nine ehildren, ineluding a boy of 19 and a girl of 15, oeeupying two small rooms. Similar evidenee was given from the neighbouring eounty of Somerset. In the West of England evidenee, some of the bad instanees ought teehnically to be eited in the urban division of the Report. Wiveliseombe, for instanee, where the Golden Hill distriet eontains some houses which are let, but whieh ought not to be inhabited, is in reality a village, but it is under the jurisdietion of an urban sanitary authority.

Pike, 14,523.
Mitchell, 15,467.

Mr. Alfred Simmons, the seeretary of the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union, spoke of the improvement that had taken place in some portions of his district in the eottage aeeommodation, but deseribed the sanitary condition as very bad indeed.

Simmons, 14,669.

Mr. George Ball, the agent of the Labourers' Union in Essex, said that generally speaking the eottage aeeommodation in the rural distriets of that eounty was, to quote his words, "very sad indeed," at one village visited by him one bedroom was the rule. In another, whieh he deseribed as the worst village in

Ball, 15,115.
Ball, 15,118.
Ball, 15,189, 15,192, &c.

sex, he found the cottages both badly constructed and in bad pair, few of them having rooms more than 6 or 7 feet high, and ere were numerous instances of overcrowding.

The Rev. C. W. Stubbs described the condition of the labourers' tages in certain "open" villages in Buckinghamshire. His e parish of Granborough contained about 50 cottages ; of these ly one had more than two bedrooms, and 17 had only one bed- om, and he described the "wattle and dab" huts in which the or are most frequently housed in that county. These have ually a lean-to at the end of the cottage in which the people ore their things, and in one corner of which there is an open vy draining into the nearest ditch. Stubbs, 16,001.

In contrast to the foregoing may be cited instances in which eat improvements have been carried out, with the result of the ttagers being housed in comfort and under sanitary conditions.

Mr. Edmund Beck described the different state of things which now found on an estate in Norfolk compared with that which e owner had to deal with on taking possession. The previous vners were non-resident excepting in the shooting season, and e cottages were of the most miserable kind, containing in many ses but one bedroom. Every old cottage has been removed and placed by a new one, or old ones have been repaired and made mfortable. Practically 70 new cottages have thus been con- ructed, all of which have three bedrooms and two living rooms. ne improvements have been carried out in this instance without ttravagance; but to quote Mr. Beck's words "they are not let with any idea of repayment in the shape of interest on the outlay, but rather with reference to the advantage they confer on the rest of the estate." Beek, 15,777. Beek, 15,807.

The remarkable improvements effected by Lord Tollemache on s Cheshire estates were also mentioned. When his lordship st succeeded to the property the cottages were in a tumbledown ndition. He has built 300 labourers' cottages, usually in pairs, cluding the small farm buildings, which are part of his system. ich cottage has three bedrooms, and has on the average three res of pasture land attached to it, and the improvements are sulting in the production of a most satisfactory class of labourers, d Lord Tollemache considers the experiment a successful invest- ent, looking to the interests of the estate generally. The cot- ges on the Earl of Shaftesbury's estate were described, as might expected, as being in excellent condition; and on the Earl of embroke's property in Wiltshire the cottage accommodation was id to be almost excessive. Impey, 14,927. Impey, 14,934. Turnbull, 16,167. Squarey, 16,899.

The instances of good and bad dwelling accommodation for the bourers in the rural districts might be multiplied from the idence, but enough has been said to show that the statement ade at the commencement of the quotations is correct, that ere is great diversity in the condition of the labourers' dwellings roughout the country. If the evidence were not at hand to refer the manner in which the instances have been cited might be sleading, as it might appear that all the good cottages were and on large estates, in the hands of rich owners, and all the bad

ones on properties which are not of sufficient size and importance to mention by name. It has been thought better not to quote names in instancing the evil circumstances amid which some of the village populations live; but while many landowners have shown considerable interest in the work of the better housing of their poorest tenants, it cannot be denied that there are cases in which the condition described can be traced to the neglect of the freeholder.

Although the wages of the agricultural labourer are still very low it is doubtful whether the same disproportion between rent and wages is found in the rural districts as in the great towns, especially the metropolis.

Your Majesty's Commissioners did not attempt to take an exhaustive view of the rates of wages which are found throughout the agricultural districts, and the proportion borne to them by the rent paid for labourers' cottages, but it may be interesting to quote a few figures given in evidence, not as an accurate representation of the position of the agricultural labourers in this respect, but simply as a collection of observations on the subject gathered from witnesses of experience from various districts.

Selby, 14,260, 14,279, 14,308. Selby, 14,225. Beach, 17,347. Beach, 17,345. Pike, 14,503.

In Wiltshire a very common rent seems to be about 1*s.* a week (but this must not be looked upon as a competition rent), while the averages of wages are put at from 9*s.* to 13*s.* a week. The wages of a shepherd in the same county, who earns 16*s.* a week all the year round, and has besides a cottage and garden, may be considered an exceptional instance. Shepherds, moreover, like carters and certain other servants, have to work for very long hours and also on Sundays. In Dorsetshire there was said to be no uniform rate. In one district where the wages are about 11*s.* the rent of small cottages was said to be about 7*s.* a month, that is to say, 1*s.* 9*d.* a week.

Ball, 15,300. Ball 15,184, 15,234. Beck, 15,782. Scarth, 16,299. Scarth, 16,306. Hawke, 16,473.

In Essex the agent to the Labourers' Union stated that the wages of ordinary farm labourers average 11*s.* a week, while the rent of cottages he computes at about 1*s.* 8*d.* a week. In Norfolk Mr. Beck stated that the standard wage was 14*s.* a week, but taking into consideration piecework the average might be calculated as between 16*s.* and 17*s.* a week. The only quotations he gave as to rent were with regard to cottages with portions of garden ground, which will be mentioned hereafter, but the citation of the rents of which would here be misleading. In Durham Mr. Scarth gave evidence as to the Duke of Cleveland's estate alone. He stated that upon it agricultural labourers were hired by the year at from 17*s.* to 20*s.* a week with cottage and garden rent free and other allowances; and he added that the wages of agricultural labourers are high throughout Durham. And again speaking from his experience of the Duke of Cleveland's property, he stated that the wages of an ordinary agricultural labourer in Shropshire in money and kind are equal to 1*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* per week. Mr. Hawke, a Cornish farmer, said that the wages of agricultural labourers in East Cornwall average 14*s.* to 15*s.* a week; his quotations as to rent were so varied that they would not be of

at value in estimating even a rough ratio between rent and ges.

The foregoing quotations, as has been said, may possess considerable interest, but they cannot be looked upon as a basis for urate calculations. To attempt a complete view of the wages the agricultural districts would necessitate that the ground uld be gone over again, to which years of labour were devoted Your Majesty's two previous Commissions already mentioned.

In the former portion of this Report the difficulty of striking average of wages among the workpeople in towns was mened; this applies also to the rural labourers, and there is one ecial cause of difficulty in casting a definite ratio between rent l wages in their case by reason of the additions which are made the latter, and the reductions which take place in the former, the way of perquisites and allowances. In this respect the ation of the agricultural labourer with regard to his dwelling often entirely dissimilar to the position of an inhabitant of the or quarters in great towns. In the case of the latter the rent ich he has to pay, and the wages in receipt of which he is, are te distinct, but in the rural districts the two are often so mixed that it is impossible to gauge the poverty of the labourers by empting any estimate of the ratio between rent and wages. Turnbull, 15,187.

The occupation of a cottage is sometimes considered as part of an's weekly wages. This is the case where cottages are let h the farms and sublet by the farmers. This, in the opinion the men themselves, is said to be one of the greatest grievances t they have to suffer from. They are engaged at so much a ek and the cottage, and the hardship is stated to be that as it reckoned part of their wages they are liable to be, and sometes are, turned out at a week's notice. There is evidence from erent parts of England that there is more dissatisfaction among labourers with regard to this part of the cottage question than out anything else; the insecurity of the tenure is felt more erely even than the misery of the accommodation. Pike, 14,536. Selby, 14,239.

Low wages in the opinion of many witnesses are one of the ef causes of the unsatisfactory manner in which large numbers the agricultural labourers are housed. The weight of evidence es to show that wages have improved within the experience of nesses; one witness with great detail contested the position of Duke of Richmond's Commission in 1880 that the condition the agricultural labourer was altogether improved and more sperous. He quoted some annual returns made in 1839 to w that at that time wages were 2*s.* and 2*s.* 3*d.* per day in nt, while now the rate was very nearly the same, the labourers' enses being infinitely greater. This was the contention of the nt of the union in Kent. Their agent in Dorset declines to as far as the Report of the Royal Commission, but gives it his opinion that the agricultural labourer is in a better position n he was some years ago. The view of the agent to His yal Highness the Prince of Wales, Mr. Beck, whose life has n spent among labourers in the East of England is, that the ourer is better off as regards wages and is better housed than Simmons, 14,689. Pike, 14,642. Beck, 15,780.

Stubbs, 15,989. he was 50 years ago. The Rev. C. W. Stubbs says that in Buckinghamshire within a shorter period, namely, the last 10 years, wages have very much increased, a fact which he ascribes to the action of the Labourers' Union, and also to the enfranchisement of the labourers in a large portion of the county, by the effect of the Reform Act of 1867 in the case of boroughs with large rural districts attached to them.

It seems clear that in hardly any case do the wages of agricultural labourers permit them to pay such a rent as would enable a builder to provide suitable accommodation at a remunerative rate of interest, but according to evidence given before the Commission, the addition of plots of land to the cottages would go far to remove the difficulty.

Hawke, 16,708.

Stubbs, 16,012.

The particular difficulty that attaches to an investigation of the housing of the working classes in rural districts is to avoid being drawn into an examination of cognate subjects, which, though of the highest importance, are beyond the scope of the present inquiry. It is not easy to elicit evidence on the condition of agricultural labourers' cottages without obtaining information and opinions upon the causes which determine the rate of wages, or the relations of the labourer to the land, but, however interesting it may be to consider questions like these, such considerations are only incidental to the present inquiry, and the temptation to discuss them at length must be avoided.

Your Majesty's Commissioners have found it impossible to examine at length matters of the greatest interest such as the foregoing, which have been touched upon in evidence before them, and this brief recapitulation of facts does not deal with all the points of importance to which their attention has been drawn. Several of the most important are so closely connected with remedies which may be recommended for the improvement of the housing of the working classes in the agricultural districts that all mention of them has been reserved for the portion of the Report to which Your Majesty's Commissioners now proceed to turn their attention.

REMEDIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The provisions of the Sanitary Act of 1866, and especially of section 35, have already been referred to in the review of existing legislation at the commencement of this report.

General adoption of byelaws under s. 35 of Sanitary Act, 1866.

Section 35 of the Sanitary Act empowered the Secretary of State on application, "by notice to be published in the London Gazette, to declare the following enactment to be in force." The enactment authorises the local authority to make regulations for the following matters:—"(1.) For fixing the number of "persons who may occupy a house, or part of a house which is "let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one "family. (2.) For the registration of houses thus let or occupied "in lodgings. (3.) For the inspection of such houses, and the "keeping the same in a cleanly and wholesome state. (4.) For "enforcing therein the provision of privy accommodation, and "other appliances and means of cleanliness in proportion to the

number of lodgings and occupiers, and the cleansing and ventilation of the common passages and staircases. (5.) For the cleansing and lime-whiting at stated times of such premises." Also empowers the authority to impose a penalty not exceeding £. for each offence, with an additional penalty of not exceeding £. for every day during which a default continues. The Sanitary Law Amendment Act, 1874, authorises the local authorities to make regulations as to the following further matters, viz.: ventilation of rooms, paving and drainage of premises, the separation of the sexes, and the notices to be given all precautions to be taken in case of the outbreak of any dangerously infectious or contagious disease.

It will be remembered that the powers of the Secretary of State with regard to this matter have been transferred to the Local Government Board. Since 1874 the Local Government Board might have put this enactment in force at any time without publication, but the mere putting in force of the enactment would be of no avail unless the authority were both willing to make regulations and when made to enforce them. Of the 38 districts dividing the metropolis outside the city boundaries, which have already been described, there were 22 in which the enactment had been put in force before December 1883, and in 13 of these districts regulations had been made, and by the action then taken by the Local Government Board the provisions were put in force in the remaining 16 districts. In reply to a circular letter of the Local Government Board, asking what action had been taken with reference to the enforcement of regulations, it was found that in two authorities, Chelsea and Hackney, had been specially active, and that comparatively little had been done by others. As regards the other districts, it seemed that in some cases the authority had almost forgotten that they had the powers. One vestry clerk said in his evidence that he and his vestry "had never turned their attention to the Act." Even where the authorities have had their memories refreshed by energetic officers of health the result has been often the same. Mr. Murphy, for instance, several times recommended the vestry of the parish which he served to put the tenements provision in force and to adopt byelaws, but in vain. After the Local Government Board had declared the enactment to be in force throughout the metropolis, lapse of memory could not be pleaded, as they also supplied the vestries and district boards which had not already made regulations with a series of suggestions for regulations. Not even this has been sufficient to produce action on the part of some of the authorities. In one parish already mentioned the question was referred to the sanitary committee, which considered in detail the suggested regulations and adopted a report very much in harmony with the suggestions. But the vestry has indefinitely postponed the report of the committee, and has deposed the chairman of the committee.

It is therefore evident that the 35th section of the Sanitary Act, which contains a remedy for some of the evils which have

Owen, 283.

Owen, 280–88

Paget, 17,483.

Murphy, 1606–7.

Owen, 289.

Jennings, 2944.

Paget, 17,759.

been described, is likely to remain a dead letter in many districts of the Metropolis until some improved means be devised for putting it into action. It is right to mention the work that has been done under the Act in two districts of the Metropolis already referred to —Chelsea and Hackney. The parish of Chelsea contains between 11,000 and 12,000 houses of varied description, and probably no other area in London is more representative of all classes of habitations. The vestry of Chelsea made application to the Secretary of State in 1866 as soon as the power to make the regulations was first given by statute. Dr. Barclay, the Medical Officer, was very active in carrying out the regulations from the time of their adoption to that of his death in 1884, the registration prescribed being accomplished in great detail. Since the original registration was made, whenever it has come to the knowledge of the medical officer that a house occupied by members of more than one family required especial care, it has been added to the register, a special inspector being employed for exclusive service under the Act. There are now 1,700 houses so registered, of all sizes, from two-roomed cottages to large houses formerly occupied by the wealthier classes. The work of one year has included the cleaning of 300 houses, the improvement of 129 water-supplies, and of 146 drainage arrangements, as well as a number of instances of preventing the evils of overcrowding and of sleeping in cellars, and of the occupation of sleeping rooms by more than two adults of different sexes. The consequence of all this energy on the part of the local authority is that in the whole of Chelsea there is practically no overcrowding.

CHELSEA.

Salway, 9425.

Salway, 9431.

HACKNEY.

Hackney is a district of a different character from Chelsea. Only a small proportion of its inhabitants are of the wealthier classes; its area is occupied entirely by the middle and lower classes. The Hackney District Board in September 1866, soon after the passing of the Sanitary Act, applied to the Secretary of State for the confirmation of draft regulations, and when this was obtained two special inspectors were appointed to measure the rooms in streets where houses were chiefly occupied by members of more than one family. The services of these inspectors were continued until 4,600 houses were inspected under the personal supervision of the medical officer. The work appears to have been of a thorough character; the measurement of each room was entered in a book, and the number of persons who might legally occupy each room was fixed; notices were served upon the owners or persons letting the house, requiring them to limit the number of lodgers and to cleanse the houses, and the number of notices served in 1867–68 was nearly 3,000. The work is said to have been so well done that, without any care being relaxed, the numbers dropped from nearly 1,300 in 1870 to 68 in 1873. Since that time the annual number seems to have been on the average about 150, and most of them are served upon new houses or re-served after change of ownership. It is now usually sufficient to send an offending owner a copy of the regulations, and to tell him it will be better for him to submit to

Tripe, 9488.

Tripe, 9490–97.

them than to be put under the more costly Nuisances Removal Acts, and the threat has the desired effect. The great advantage of having regulations in force is said to be that it is not necessary under them to convince a magistrate that what is complained of is a nuisance injurious to health (as different magistrates frequently hold different views on this matter), and proceedings are taken simply for a breach of the regulations. The consequence of the work having been taken in hand in Hackney systematically from the beginning is that out of 6,000 houses occupied among the poorer classes by members of more than one family over 5,000 are registered and are under inspection and visitation. Tripe, 9504. Tripe, 9516–20.

The foregoing shows what good work can be done with existing legislation by local authorities, provided they are well disposed. Given energetic medical officers and surveyors, and intelligent and disinterested members of local boards to support them in their suggestions, and half the difficulty of the question is at once met. But, on the other hand, a very different state of things has been described in evidence as to some other local bodies in the metropolis. Owen, 363. Murphy, 1112. Shipton, 12,858. Paget, 17,533–590.

The disadvantage of each of the several districts of the metropolis having a separate sanitary system of its own was demonstrated incidentally by witnesses the tenour of whose evidence shows that they are not the supporters of very sweeping changes. The medical officer of Hackney stated that one result of the enforcement of their regulations was that persons who did not like to submit to them, or for whom there was no room without overcrowding, had to leave the district and go to others where the local authority allowed the people to live in whatever condition they pleased. Tripe, 9555.

It will be observed from what has already been stated that all that was necessary to be done to place the local authorities in the metropolis in a position to make byelaws has been done, and that it remains for the local authorities, where they are not already in force, to make such byelaws and to enforce them.

Your Majesty's Commissioners therefore recommend that the vestries and district boards which have not already made and enforced byelaws should proceed to do so, although it is not likely that in all cases such action will be taken until the people show a more active interest in the management of their local affairs. It is probable that other means might be found for enabling them to give greater effect to their views through their local representatives.

The case of sanitary authorities outside the metropolis is somewhat different.

Sec. 90 of the Public Health Act of 1875 provides as follows:—

General adoption of byelaws under s. 90 of the Public Health Act, 1875.

The Local Government Board may, if they think fit, by notice published in the "London Gazette," declare the following enactment to be in force within the district or any part of the district of any local authority, and from and after the publication of such

notice such authority shall be empowered to make byelaws for the following matters ; (that is to say,)

(1.) For fixing, and from time to time varying, the number of persons who may occupy a house or part of a house which is let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one family, and for the separation of the sexes in a house so let or occupied :

(2.) For the registration of houses so let or occupied :

(3.) For the inspection of such houses :

(4.) For enforcing drainage and the provision of privy accommodation for such houses, and for promoting cleanliness and ventilation in such houses :

(5.) For the cleansing and lime-washing at stated times of the premises, and for the paving of the courts and courtyards thereof :

(6.) For the giving of notices and the taking of precautions in case of any infectious disease.

MANCHESTER. LEEDS. This section does not apply to common lodging-houses within the provisions of this Act relating to common lodging-houses.

Goldie, 9764. 9791. 9801. In the Appendix will be found a letter addressed to the Corporation of Manchester, showing how such byelaws may be effectively worked, and evidence was also given as to the adoption of the byelaws in other towns. At Leeds they were adopted in 1876, but in this town the proportion of tenement houses is remarkably small, only 162 having been on the register in 1883. This may be owing partly to the largeness of the area for building upon in this borough, which extends over 33 square miles, partly on account of what was described as the opulence of the working classes here, and partly because Leeds is evidently, like other provincial centres quoted, not a place where tenement houses are the customary dwellings of the poor. The medical officer con-

9776. siders the possession of the powers a great advantage ; the regulations seem to be worked with much energy, 1,235 visits of inspection having been made in 1883, and the result of their working is shown by the comparatively satisfactory condition of the town.

BIRMINGHAM. Chamberlain, 12,425, 12,359. At Birmingham 210 houses are on the register, and the byelaws are undergoing revision ; but the habit of the people here again is to have separate houses.

LIVERPOOL. Forwood, 13,360. At Liverpool, where much work has been done, but where much misery still exists, the old rules of the Corporation are considered by Mr. Forwood better than the model byelaws.

NEWCASTLE. Armstrong, 7541. Laws, 8354. At Newcastle-on-Tyne, the condition of which has been described, regulations were made under the older Act of 1866, but they have so completely dropped out of use, that the city engineer had no knowledge of their existence. The Corporation however, in February last, applied to the Local Government Board to put in force section 90 of the Public Health Act.

BRISTOL. Davis, 6891. At Bristol the medical officer of health stated that the regulations adopted there were not generally enforced, but were of great service by being held *in terrorem* over the people concerned. They were threatened with registration if overcrowd-

g were not abated, and the threat usually had the desired fect.

At Doncaster the non-existence of tenement houses has made unnecessary to create regulations, and at Exeter the medical ficer of health was not acquainted with the provisions of the etion. OTHER TOWNS. Wilson, 8313.

The conditions of life in various provincial towns differ as much from one another as they do from what is found in the etropolis, and therefore it would not be safe to enforce any niform set of regulations for them. It would, however, be of dvantage that the local authorities should be allowed to make ich regulations, subject to approval, without any preliminary der of the Local Government Board. In some localities anyting that savours of centralization is at once condemned without trial. At Exeter, for instance, the medical officer explained his nfamiliarity with the provisions of section 90 by the dislike which e Town Council have for anything that brings them into conxion with the central authority. In larger centres of population is objection finds stronger expression, and though there is much oom for reform of local government in the country outside the unicipalities, yet the administrative bodies, generally speaking, em to be sufficiently responsible to public feeling to prescribe gulations for themselves, subject to the confirmation which has ways been considered necessary where local authorities have en entrusted with the power of making regulations the nonbservance of which would be a punishable offence. Woodman, 8447. Woodman. 8450.

'Your Majesty's Commissioners therefore recommend that in all ban sanitary districts the local authorities should be empowered make byelaws, as provided in section 90 of the Public Health ct of 1875, without any previous action on the part of the Local overnment Board.

The recapitulation of existing legislation at the commencement the report shows that if efforts have been made in Parliament improve the dwellings of the poor, the result has been to make owledge as to the remedies for the evils attainable only by a ry difficult and elaborate study. The Local Government Board cognised the almost justifiable ignorance of the powers given by e law, when at the end of 1883 they issued the circulars and gests of statutes already referred to, but the bulkiness of these pers is in itself a proof that the form in which the laws at esent exist makes a mastery of their provisions a heavy task en for a lawyer or a specialist. When it is considered in whose nds the administration of the law, under the most favourable cumstances, must rest, it is too much to expect that medical ieers, however zealous, and clerks to local bodies, however tive, should be competent to be ready at all times with accurate vice on the points continually arising. Such questions are unded on legislation spread over a period of more than 30 years, e often of a litigious character, and always involve personal and euniary interests. CONSOLIDATION OF SANITARY LAWS AS REGARDS THE METROPOLIS.

'The difficulty is especially felt in the metropolis, and it is edless to go over again even the headings of the various

sanitary laws that have reference to London. It will be sufficient to quote one or two extracts from testimony given on the question.

The medical officer of St. Pancras in his evidence already quoted to the effect that his vestry had declined to adopt the tenements provisions of the Sanitary Act, enlarged upon the disadvantages which attached to the procedure under other statutes, whereby alternative remedies may be sought. The procedure under the Nuisances Removal Act he described as "tedious," the procedure being very prolonged before a nuisance can be abated, and with regard to Mr. Torrens's Acts, he stated that his local authority was one of those which had found difficulties in their working, from the fear of being compelled to purchase property concerning which they wished to make an order on the owners to repair. In the opinion of this witness the Metropolis Local Management Act was the easiest and most satisfactory to work. The medical officer of Bermondsey, with reference to the circular to vestries on areas reported unhealthy by medical officers, said, that his vestry preferred to take proceedings under the Nuisances Removal Act, and he pointed out the difficulty of dealing with unhealthy areas under Mr. Torrens's Acts when they were owned by different individuals and not by one freeholder. He said that delay is in a measure owing to the complexity of the law.

Murphy, 1613.

Dixon, 4687.

Dixon, 4688.

From the whole of the evidence quotations might be made to show that various witnesses, often of high authority, have thus a particular leaning to this or that series of statutes, and when this is found to be the case with persons who have had especial opportunities of studying the law, it is not surprising that local authorities, who sometimes have strong motives for inaction, should plead their want of knowledge as an excuse for not putting in force the powers that they possess. If all the enactments bearing on the subject were consolidated, it would not be possible for a responsible official to come forward, and state that a "vestry had never turned their attention to the 35th section of "the Sanitary Act. Of course it was among the Acts in the "office, but they had never turned their attention to it, and "consequently had never considered the effect of a particular "clause." There is also the evidence of the agent who represents larger leasehold estates than any other in London, the agent to the Westminster and Northampton property. He is a solicitor of great experience, and speaking of the necessity of the consolidation of these laws, he says "from reading them, it is difficult "for people who are not lawyers and who have to administer "these Acts to understand them fully. They are almost as com-"plicated as the Church Building-Acts, which nobody has as yet "understood"

Paget, 17,483.

Boodle, 903.

Your Majesty's Commissioners would therefore recommend the consolidation of the sanitary laws as regards the metropolis.

If such a consolidation were to be undertaken, the opportunity should be taken of making certain amendments.

Two points have been especially mentioned. The first recommendation is a provision for the general erection of mortuaries. In that portion of the report, which deals with the existing evils, it was mentioned that one of the incidents of the single-room system was that in the case of a death the body remains until the funeral in the room where the family live, and in that interval the meals and sleeping and all the ordinary acts of life go on exactly as usual. Burials, moreover, are often delayed among the poorer classes much longer than is customary in wealthier ranks of society. Even where death has occurred from ordinary sickness or accident the effect must be most injurious to the persons who live, perhaps for a week or ten days, in a crowded room with a corpse; but in the case of death from contagious disease the result must be a source of danger to the whole community. Mr. Edwin Chadwick testified to the frequency of this occurrence, and Your Majesty's Commissioners do not hesitate to follow him in his recommendation that mortuaries to a large extent should be provided throughout the metropolis and elsewhere, and that in the event of a death from infectious disease the body should forthwith be removed to one, in cases where it would otherwise be retained in a room used as a dwelling by others. Your Majesty's Commissioners consider that it is desirable that in any case where the body lies in a room which is used by other persons it should in the same manner be removed; but they feel that there would be the greatest difficulty in carrying out an absolute rule in such cases which would interfere with the habits and the feelings of the people.

MORTUARIES.

Fryer, 2147.

Chadwick, 13,929.

The second point relates to cellar dwellings, the existence of which has already been fully described and the law explained. The provisions of s. 103 of the Metropolis Management Act of 1855 (and also of s. 72 of the Public Health Act of 1875, with reference to the provinces) were recited, but evidence was forthcoming that there were cases of cellars inhabited both in London and the provincial towns which were dark, damp, and unhealthy, and which could not be condemned because they came within the limits prescribed by the law. In Wilmington Place, Clerkenwell, to take one instance, there were said to be cellars totally unfit for human habitation, where the walls are dripping with wet months of the year, which the medical officer declines to condemn because they satisfy the requirements of the law, though, in the opinion of two unprofessional witnesses they fall short of them. Without citing further instances, the mere recital of these legal requirements is sufficient to show plainly that an apartment may satisfy them all and yet be destructive to health and totally unfit for habitation, and Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that the provisions of the Acts quoted on p. 12 of this report should be amended with a view to securing, in future buildings in the metropolis, greater height above the level of the street, and larger areas in front of the windows of all inhabited rooms which partake of the nature of cellar dwellings.

CELLAR-DWELLINGS.

Compton, 684.

By the section of the Metropolis Management Act referred to, the duty of discovering illegally inhabited cellars, and of reporting

Wilkins, 11,000.

them, is thrown on the district surveyors, acting under the Metropolitan Board of Works. It is shown in evidence that these officials are not the proper persons to perform this duty, and Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that the duty should be placed in the hands of the inspectors of the local sanitary authority.

Building Byelaws.

Your Majesty's Commissioners have had under consideration the statutory provisions in force in the Metropolis with regard to the height of buildings and the space about buildings for the purpose of securing a free circulation of air, and in the Appendix will be found a memorandum on this subject. The principal regulations as to the height of buildings are those in section 85 of the Metropolis Management Amendment Act, 1862. Under that enactment no building (except a church or chapel) exceeding in height the distance from its external wall to the opposite side of the street may be erected in a new street of a less width than 50 feet without the consent of the Metropolitan Board of Works. But as these rules apply only to buildings in new streets of a certain width, and are subject to exceptions authorised by the Metropolitan Board of Works, it cannot be considered that the matter is one for which effectual provision has been made.

The Metropolitan Building (Amendment) Act, 1878 (ss. 6 and 7), has an indirect bearing on the subject ; it may be briefly described as an endeavour in the case of areas unoccupied by buildings within two years before the passing of the Act to secure that, subject to the dispensing powers of the Metropolitan Board of Works, external walls of buildings, or external fences or boundaries of forecourts, shall be at a prescribed distance from the centre of the adjoining roadway. No attempt has been made to control the height of buildings in the Metropolis in relation to the open space provided within the curtilage for securing free circulation of air. As to this open space the existing regulations cannot, in the opinion of Your Majesty's Commissioners, be regarded as sufficient or satisfactory. In the Metropolitan Building Act, 1855, there is a regulation (section 29) to the effect that every dwelling-house, unless all the rooms can be lighted and ventilated from an adjoining street or alley, must have in the rear or side an open space exclusively belonging thereto of the extent at least of 100 feet. This regulation, however, fails not only to secure increased space as an accompaniment of increased height, but also to provide for the distribution of the space laterally throughout the width or depth of the building, in such a manner as best to ensure the free circulation of air about the building.

In the Metropolis Management and Building Acts (Amendment Act, 1882, s. 14, the less important element of frontage has been used in certain cases as a condition upon which the extent of open space to be provided is dependent. The enactment is, however, restricted to new dwelling-houses upon new sites, and it is obvious that in the crowded parts of London an enactment applicable to new buildings on new sites must be practically inoperative. Moreover, the section does not apply if the Metro-

olitan Board of Works otherwise permit. Buildings within the peration of the section must have directly attached to them, and n their rear, an open space exclusively belonging to them, and of n extent varying from a minimum of 150 square feet where the rontage does not exceed 15 feet to a minimum of 450 square feet where the frontage exceeds 30 feet. This space, however, is not rotected from obstruction by outbuildings or other structural indrances to ventilation. As to the level of the ceiling of the round floor storey the space may be wholly covered.

Upon the question of the amendments which, in relation to eight and open space, may be suggested as desirable and at the ame time practicable, it may be remarked that, subject to the mitations which would probably be found necessary to prevent ndue sacrifice of property in individual cases or in particular reas, Your Majesty's Commissioners are prepared to recommend he following suggestions:—

1. That upon the lines of the existing enactments in the Acts f 1862 and 1878 rules of more general application be framed to ontrol the height of buildings in relation to the open space which should be required to be provided in front of the buildings, either in the form of land exclusively belonging to each building nd kept free from erections, or in the form of an adjoining treet.

2. That in the rear of every new dwelling-house or other uilding to be controlled by rules ordinarily applicable to dwelling-ouses, and whether in old or in new streets, there be provided a roportionate extent of space exclusively belonging to the dwelling-ouse or building; that this space be free from erections from he ground level upwards; that it extend laterally throughout he entire width of the dwelling-house or building; that for the istance across the space from the building to the boundary of djoining premises a minimum be prescribed; and that this inimum increase with the height of the dwelling-house or uilding.

SANITARY INSPECTION.

The evidence given before Your Majesty's Commissioners points o a need for improvement in the system of inspection of the wellings of the poor, and most of the witnesses examined attach onsiderable importance to large powers of inspection as a remedy or many evils: not only witnesses who may have an official eaning to the system, but independent persons whose knowledge f the subject is derived from voluntary work. The high authority f Miss Octavia Hill is, it is true, rather against than for increased nspection; she would prefer to see the owners stimulated to reater activity. With reference to overcrowding, however, she tates that there have been moments when she should have been lad of the power to send a person in to inspect, but she thinks hat inspection should be in the hands of a municipal authority.

Owen, 294.

Cobden, 4786.

Hill, 8901.

Hill, 9174.

Inspection to be effectual must be performed by an adequate taff who have knowledge of the work in which they are ngaged.

At present, making all allowance for the difference of character f various parts of the metropolis, the proportion of inspectors to

the population shows either that some districts of London are greatly over-inspected, or that in others inspection exists only in name. The districts in which the staff is largest are St. James's, Westminster, and St. Giles, which have an inspector to each 9,000 of the population, but this is most exceptional, for in Islington and St. Pancras the proportion is as has been already shown only one to nearly 60,000; in Greenwich, one to 65,000; in Bermondsey, one to 86,000; and in Mile End, one to 105,000.

Owen, 263.

Much evidence was given from various parts of London which proved both the absence of adequate inspection and of sufficient activity in the inspectors. The perfunctory method of certain sanitary inspectors was described, and it is evident that where work is performed according to the custom of certain districts of the metropolis it really does not matter whether the staff of inspectors be large or small.

Murphy, 1757–59. Dixon, 4518. Paget, 17,685.

Activity alone, when procured, will not be sufficient. It is necessary that trained men should be selected who have some knowledge of sanitation and of building construction. Mr. Owen, the Secretary to the Local Government Board, said that it would be an advantage if sanitary inspectors were required to obtain some certificate of fitness after examination by an authorised body. Mr. Cubitt Nichols, the adviser of the Home Office on Artizans' Dwellings Schemes, thinks that all inspectors ought to be acquainted with building construction, and that even disciplined men of good character like old soldiers, who are sometimes employed, are of no use unless they have served in the Royal Engineers. In this opinion he is supported by Mr. Edwin Chadwick, who also agrees with Mr. Owen as to the examination qualification. He considers it an increasing evil that inspection often falls into the hands of ignorant persons, and that it is sometimes supervised by people with sinister interests who frustrate the action of the law.

Owen, 540.

Nichols, 9261.

Chadwick, 13,931.

The need for more careful selection of inspectors is clearly shown by the fact that in one metropolitan parish the assistant inspector of that parish was formerly, according to the vestry clerk, "something in the jewellery trade," and had no training whatever for the duties which he performed, and that this is not an exceptional case is proved by the opinion of the same witness, who said, "I don't know that any special training is required. "If a man was endowed with good common sense I think that "would be about as good a training as he could have."

Paget, 17,679.

17,682.

Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that advice should be given to metropolitan sanitary authorities to increase in some cases their staff of inspectors, and in all cases to select persons acquainted with the principles of sanitation and of building construction; and while deeply impressed with the importance of this are not prepared to recommend so centralising a measure as the appointment of such inspectors by the Local Government Board, but they are of opinion that the Local Government Board might, pending future legislation with regard to London government, be provisionally entrusted with a veto on the appointments of inspectors.

Another important point is the residence of the medical officers within the boundaries of their districts, and the devotion of their whole time to their official work. MEDICAL OFFICERS OF HEALTH.

The figures of population of various metropolitan districts which have been quoted are enough to show the impossibility of the practical sanitary supervision of them by one man, unless he is always on the spot, and has no other occupation to divert him from the care of the area in his charge. The residence within the district is perhaps the more important condition, on account of the local knowledge that can only be obtained by a life spent in the midst of it. It has been seen that great emphasis has been laid, by witnesses who have spoken on the point, on the necessity of speed in the checking of overcrowding, and they have expressed their preference for this or that Act of Parliament under which to proceed, mainly because they judged that it was the most summary in its working. The medical officer of Hackney said "the moment we find anything is wrong, we serve notice and enforce it at once, and summon the occupier," and this could not of course be done if the person in authority were not actually on the spot. Tripe, 9589.

In districts where the governing body are not efficient much of their inaction and obstruction can be counteracted by the energy on the spot of an able medical officer so long as he is able to retain his office. One parish, which has been named, was a case in point: its vestry is less inefficient than certain others in the metropolis: compared to some it is an enlightened body, but it has been sufficiently backward to decline to follow the medical officer's recommendation to adopt the tenement provisions of the Sanitary Act. Nevertheless, by continual vigilance and activity he thoroughly investigated the condition of the district, and he put himself in a position to use all the power that is placed in his hands. Your Majesty's Commissioners much regret to notice that during the revision of their report the medical officer in question found himself compelled to resign on account of his relations with his vestry. Murphy, 1604, &c.

It is not merely a coincidence that the worst neighbourhoods in London are those where the medical officers reside in a distant part of the town. There has been a well-known case of one of the poorest parishes in the metropolis, the medical officer of which was, when the evidence before this Commission was taken, a very eminent practitioner, in a wealthy quarter some miles distant, and the result of this arrangement appears to be what might be expected. Jennings, 3084.

Mr. Edwin Chadwick, speaking both from his own long experience, and also on behalf of the Association of Sanitary Inspectors, says, "it is a most mischievous arrangement under which medical officers are allowed to continue in private practice," and he points out in addition to the obvious advantage a man possesses who can give his uninterrupted time to his work, that where they are not permitted to engage in private practice Chadwick, 13,939.

they are in a favourable position for getting information and aid from private practitioners who would not give them to a rival medical man.

At the same time, looking at the excellent work which in some parishes has been performed by medical officers of health who have had private practice, Your Majesty's Commissioners do not recommend the imposition of a positive restriction by law.

They would, however, recommend that the residence of medical officers in their districts, or within a mile of the boundaries, should be made compulsory, and that the sanitary authorities should be advised to provide, as far as possible, that the medical officers should devote their whole time to their official duties.

Reform of London Government.

It is evident from the foregoing that the remedies which legislation has provided for sanitary evils have been imperfectly applied in the metropolis, and that this failure has been due to the negligence, in many cases, of the existing local authorities. It does not appear that more satisfactory action on their part can be secured without reform in the local administration of London.

Arbitration between Vestries and Metropolitan Board.

Irrespective of any measure for reform of the government of London the question as to the border land of action between the Metropolitan Board of Works and the vestries or district boards is one which requires immediate attention, with reference to the carrying out of the various Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Acts.

Places which are notoriously bad remain so because each authority maintains that the other authority ought to deal with them: the real contention between them being whether the improvement, the necessity of which is disputed by neither, ought to be carried out at the expense of the metropolis or at the expense of the immediate locality.

By the 12th section of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Act Amendment Act of 1879 (42 & 43 Vict. c. 64. s. 12), in the event of the local authority declining or neglecting for the space of three months after notice from the Metropolitan Board to put the provisions of that Act in force, the Metropolitan Board may themselves put those provisions in force and charge the local authority with the expense. This power has, in fact, never been exercised, nor was it the duty of any person or public body to call the attention of the Metropolitan Board to the state of the case.

By the 11th section of the Artizans Dwellings Act of 1882, Part 2 (45 & 46 Vict. c. 54. s. 11), power to complain to the Metropolitan Board was specially given to the board of guardians and to the owners of neighbouring property. But this provision also has clearly proved insufficient.

By the 6th section of the Act of 1882, Part 1 (45 & 46 Vict. c. 54. s. 6), if an official representation be made to the Metropolitan Board under the Act of 1875, with reference to not more than 10 houses, the Metropolitan Board is to take no action, but the duty of acting devolves on the local authority. There is, however, no correlative enactment to say that if the scheme includes a larger

number, the duty shall be imperative on the Metropolitan Board. It would, of course, be difficult to defend such an enactment, inasmuch as the vestry concerned would in such case always include more than 10 houses in each scheme.

Hence, many places reported officially are left untouched, and the returns made to the Secretary of State show that the Metropolitan Board, after considering the cases reported to them, have laid aside many, using the common form "too small, should be dealt with locally."

To prevent a continuance of this state of things, Your Majesty's Commissioners would suggest that in all those cases which are passed over by either the Metropolitan Board on the one hand or the vestries and district boards on the other, on the ground that the other authority ought to deal with them, the Government should appoint an arbitrator to decide under which set of Acts the case should fall. The duty of the arbitrator so appointed would be simply to settle definitely whether the burden is one which ought to fall on the local authority or upon the Metropolitan Board. When there is no doubt as to whose is the responsibility, it may be safe to rely upon the responsible body to carry out work in the execution of its duty. The work may be, in the opinion of the arbitrator, of such a nature that the expense ought to be divided between the local authority and the Metropolitan Board, and power should be given to him by law to recommend in such cases division of the burthen, and to report accordingly to the Home Secretary, who should lay the report before Parliament.

CROSS'S ACTS.

With regard to the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvements Acts, 1875–1882 (Sir Richard Cross' Acts), provision is made by section 8 of the 38 & 39 Vict. c. 36. for inquiry by the confirming authority, where an official representation has been made to the local authority with a view to their passing a resolution in favour of an improvement scheme, and the local authority either fail to pass such a resolution or determine not to proceed with a scheme. It appears to Your Majesty's Commissioners that in the case of the metropolis the Secretary of State should be empowered, if, after such inquiry, he is satisfied that the local authority ought to exercise their powers under the Acts referred to in respect of the area to which the official representation relates, to make an order requiring the local authority to discharge their duty in the matter, and that if such order is not complied with, it should be enforceable by the High Court of Justice.

TORRENS'S ACTS.

With respect to the Artizans Dwellings Acts, 1868–1882 (Mr. Torrens's Acts), it is to be observed that the 31 & 32 Vict. c. 130, by section 13, empowers the central authority, on certain representations by householders, to direct a local authority to proceed under the powers of the Acts referred to, and provides that such direction shall be binding on the local authority. Your Majesty's Commissioners recommend that this provision should extend to "obstructive buildings" as well as to premises which are in a condition dangerous to health, so as to be unfit for human habitation, and that any such direction by the central authority in the metropolis shall be enforceable by the High Court.

In consequence of the cumbrous and expensive character of the proceedings in connexion with a writ of mandamus, Your Majesty's Commissioners would propose that, if it should be found practicable, the order or direction of the Secretary of State should be made enforceable by an order of the court instead of by mandamus.

CONTRIBUTION.

It has also been suggested that when in any metropolitan parish or district containing less than 80,000 inhabitants, the removal and replacement of dwellings for the working classes is found to be necessary under Torrens's Acts, the total cost of which shall be estimated at more than a certain rate in the pound, each of the contiguous parishes shall be made liable to pay a contributive rate towards such outlay not exceeding one-eighth of the total sum so required; and that any dispute as to the cost of the work proposed to be done should be left to the arbitration of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

AMENDMENT OF S. 5 OF 42 & 43 VICT. C. 64.

Your Majesty's Commissioners would here recommend an amendment of section 5 of the Artizans and Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1879 (42 & 43 Vict. c. 64), which provides that an owner who has been required to execute works in order to put his premises into proper sanitary condition, or to demolish premises, may require the local authority to purchase such premises. This provision, in the opinion of Your Majesty's Commissioners, should be repealed, as it puts a premium upon neglect of duty by the owner.

METROPOLIS: GENERAL RECOMMENDATION.

Without entering upon questions of policy of far wider application than the more immediate subject-matter of the present inquiry, Your Majesty's Commissioners are clearly of opinion that there has been failure in administration rather than in legislation, although the latter is no doubt capable of improvement. What at the present time is specially required is some motive power, and probably there can be no stronger motive power than public opinion. With the view, therefore, of bringing specially under public attention the sanitary condition of the different districts in the metropolis, Your Majesty's Commissioners recommend that the Secretary of State should be empowered to appoint one or more competent persons for the purpose of inquiring as to the immediate sanitary requirements of each district, having regard to the several powers entrusted to the local authority, whether the Metropolitan Board of Works, or the vestry or district board; that the local authority should be empowered to nominate members of their own body to act with the officers so appointed, and that the reports of the result of such inquiries by the officers appointed should be transmitted to the local authorities, and should also be laid before Parliament.

REMOVAL OF PRISONS.

Before leaving the recommendations, which, for the most part, have especial reference to the metropolis, Your Majesty's Commissioners have one more suggestion to make. In the earlier portion of the report much evidence was cited which showed that a great deal of the overcrowding and other evils found in the housing of the working classes in the worst districts of London was owing to the insufficiency of accommodation in those parts of the town

where the demand for dwellings was greatest, owing, amongst other causes, to the necessity for the masses in precarious employment to live at a convenient centre whence they might seek their daily work. Such districts are so densely built over that there is no probability of finding space for additional accommodation excepting by the removal of existing buildings. The attention of Your Majesty's Commissioners has been drawn to the fact that large areas, both in the centre of London and in thickly populated neighbourhoods not in the central districts, are now occupied by extensive buildings used as Your Majesty's prisons. With a view to ascertaining if they could be removed without disadvantage, they called the Surveyor-General of Prisons, who gave evidence as to the prisons at Coldbath Fields, Pentonville, Millbank, and Fulham. Coldbath Fields stands on an area of nearly 9 acres; Pentonville on an area of 10 acres; Millbank on an area of about 23 acres; and Fulham on an area of 3½ acres. The total area thus occupied is, therefore, about 45 acres. The two first-named are situated in the vicinity of the central district of the metropolis, the condition of which Your Majesty's Commissioners specially investigated. Millbank is situated on the edge of a densely populated quarter in Westminster, with reference to which evidence was also given. Fulham prison, however, is not in an over-populated neighbourhood. The Surveyor-General gave it as his opinion that there would not only be no objection to the removal of the inmates to other existing prisons, but that the change would be a distinct advantage as a matter of prison policy. Without enlarging upon either of these questions, Your Majesty's Commissioners think that the unqualified expression of opinion of the Surveyor-General of Prisons justifies them in recommending that, with a view to relieving the pressure on space in districts of the metropolis inhabited by the working classes, the prisons of Coldbath Fields, Pentonville, Millbank, and, if necessary, Fulham, should be removed.

Du Cane, 18,064, *seq.*

Du Cane, 18,094.

Du Cane, 18,106.

They would suggest that the sites now occupied by Millbank, Coldbath Fields, and Pentonville prisons should be conveyed to the Metropolitan Board of Works, in trust for the benefit of those portions of the town which are most overcrowded. In fixing the price at which the sites should be so conveyed, due regard should be had to the purposes for which they are so required. To carry into effect the object of securing additional land where most required in the metropolis for building room for workmen's dwellings, and for open spaces connected therewith, power should be given, previous to their acquisition by the Metropolitan Board of Works, to sell or exchange, with the approval of the Home Office, any portions of the sites referred to, that the areas obtained instead should be devoted in proportions, to be fixed by the confirming authority, to these uses and to no other.

PUBLIC LOANS.

Your Majesty's Commissioners now come to a most important branch of their inquiry, and one which is of general application to the whole country. It has been suggested that loans of public

money for the purpose of providing dwellings for the working classes should be granted by the Public Works Loan Board, with the consent of the Treasury, on more favourable terms than at present, especially in cases where the security can be given of rates as well as of lands and buildings.

Spearman, 11,147–165.

The chief enactments under which the Public Works Loan Commissioners are enabled to make loans for the purpose of providing dwellings for the working classes, are the Labouring Classes Dwelling Houses Act of 1866, the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Act of 1868, with its amending Act of 1879, the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act of 1875, and the Public Works Loans Act of 1879. The applicants for loans under one or more of these Acts may be (*a*) local authorities, (*b*) railway, dock, or harbour companies, or companies and societies established for the purposes of the Act of 1866, or for trading or manufacturing purposes, or (*c*) private persons.

Spearman, 11,152.

The security for loans has to consist, firstly, in the case of local authorities, of rates, or of the land or dwellings for which the advance is made, or both of them; and, secondly, in other cases, of the land or dwellings for the purpose of which the advance is made, together with any other security which may be agreed upon; the approval of the Treasury being required in the case of every loan.

The Act of 1875 seemed to contemplate that the State should assist by lending its credit in aid of artizans' dwellings' schemes. It enacted that public money might be lent at 3½ per cent., or such higher rate as might enable the loan to be made without loss to the Exchequer, the repayment to be spread over a period not exceeding 50 years. The conditions then laid down were interfered with by the Public Works Loans Act of 1879; and by the Treasury Minute of August 1879 the following rates of interest were fixed for loans under the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts:—

Spearman, 11,190.

3½	per cent. per annum where the period of repayment did not exceed		20	years.
3¾	,,	,,	30	,,
4	,,	,,	40	,,
4¼	,,	,,	50	,,

a maximum of 100,000*l.* being fixed for any one operation.

11,177. 11,191.

This scale being less favourable than that which was authorised by the Act of 1875, a natural explanation is offered of the falling off in the applications which immediately followed.

Welby, 11,382.

One object of the Treasury in tightening the conditions was to lead great bodies, like the Metropolitan Board of Works and the corporations of towns like Liverpool and Birmingham, to borrow upon their own securities instead of coming to the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and it was therefore anticipated that there would be a falling off in the number of applications. The effect, however, of the alteration does not meet with universal approval, on the ground that if the local authority borrow upon the shorter

erm the immediate charge becomes a very heavy one. It follows Lefevre, n many cases that the whole burden falls upon the leaseholders, 12,690. nd none of it upon the ground landlords.

State assistance is much more valuable to small towns than to arge ones, especially since several of the large corporations have een able to issue consolidated stock, the result of which is that Chamberlain. hose towns can borrow almost as cheaply as the State can lend to 12,406. hem. At Birmingham, for instance, loans are borrowed at Lefevre, 12,694. ½ per cent., and the Metropolitan Board of Works borrows at per cent.

Very strong representations have been made that under these ircumstances the State should lend at the lowest sum at which possibly can lend without loss, and that the rate of interest Lefevre, hould be cheaper when money is advanced for improvement 12,693. chemes than for other objects.

A definite suggestion has been made that the Treasury might nd the deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks for the purpose f the erection of labourers' dwellings at a rate of interest little bove that which is paid upon the deposits.

Mr. Torrens and Mr. Gray are of opinion that one of the most erious obstacles to the practical application of what are called Torrens's Acts consists in the inhibition by Parliament of advances t less than 4 per cent. by the Public Works Loan Commissioners 42 & 43 Vict. o local authorities for the purchase of sites and rebuilding of c. 64. s. 22. orkmen's dwellings. When the first of these Statutes was assed in 1868 the funds entrusted by the Treasury to the ommissioners, though arising from different sources, were egarded as indistinguishable so far as their applicability to public urposes was concerned. Subsequently the establishment of a eneral system of Post Office Savings Banks added largely to the ources so available. In the course of 12 years, the argument ontinues, deposits to a vast amount have been made by the umbler classes, chiefly in the great towns: and the balances in he hands of the Postmaster-General, after the payment of all rafts, and of the interest at 2½ per cent., have every year gone n increasing. For the 12 months ending the 31st of December 883 they amounted to 1,774,995*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*, and the accumulation f balances thus accruing in the space of 12 years amounted at he end of last year to 41,768,808*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

It is proposed by Mr. Torrens that one half of the annual alance derived from the Post Office Savings Banks may in future e advanced under the sanction and control of the Treasury by he Public Works Loan Commissioners to local authorities on the ortgage of freehold sites purchased for workmen's homes, and he dwellings erected thereon, together with the security of the ates of the parish, district, or borough legally entitled to charge he same, at 2½ per cent. in addition to the charge for administra- on; the principal of the loan, together with the interest, to be paid by yearly instalments.

In support of this proposition it is contended that banking eposits in the hands of the Government cannot be regarded as

identical with the surplus of taxes derived from the income or expenditure of the nation at large. The latter, in the opinion of Mr. Torrens and Mr. Gray, are contributed by the whole community, and are properly applicable to the lightening of general burthens or the redemption of national debt. The former, they think, can in no sense be justly so described or without reservation be deemed to be thus appropriable: it is contended that "they "are the fruits of prudent thrift, the proofs of habitual self-"denial, and that a wise policy would husband and use them "carefully for a further encouragement in well-doing of those "classes who, out of their provident toil, have helped to accumulate "so large a fund." Mr. Torrens and Mr. Gray are of opinion that the only justification urged for the State entering into a constantly increasing competition with private organisations in banking and insurance business is that the classes to whom these State operations are practically confined require to be specially dealt with, and therefore that any profit made out of transactions thus undertaken on exceptional grounds should be used for the benefit of the classes mainly concerned, and not go to a common fund to balance losses on transactions entered into for other reasons, or be used for general State purposes.

Mr. Broadhurst and Mr. Collings object to the proposal to utilise the profits of the Savings Bank Funds for the erection of dwellings for the poor, on the ground that if any assistance should be given from public funds towards housing the poor, it should be a charge upon all classes, and not a charge only to the Savings Banks, the funds of which are, in their opinion, the product of the thrift and industry of the better class of workmen.

If the profits are to be used for the benefit of the working people, the owners of these investments, in the opinion of Mr. Broadhurst and Mr. Collings, have the first claim upon them, and the only equitable administration of these profits would be to give increased interest to the investors. This would not only be an act of justice, but would act as an inducement to still greater efforts among them in the direction of thrift, and as an encouragement to those who do not at present save small sums from their wages.

Against this view, however, Mr. Torrens and Mr. Gray urge that "the profit" should be devoted rather to the benefit of the class than as higher interest to the individual depositor, because the latter already gets more than a commercial rate for his money. The profit, in their opinion, is only made by the aid of State credit, and while it might be legitimately used for the benefit of the classes without whose co-operation the State could not make it, it may be argued that the individuals have no claim upon it, for they already receive more than private enterprise could afford to give them.

Welby, 11,495. Perhaps, for the purpose of calculation, it would be convenient to put the rate at which it is proposed that Savings Bank money might be advanced at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., and then to inquire if the Treasury could effect the loans of this particular money at that rate.

The Treasury officials argue that if they are to calculate the rate at which Government can lend the savings deposited with the State, it is not possible to take that branch alone which happens to pay, the Post Office, but that the question must be dealt with as a whole. At present the case stands thus:— Welby, 11,469.

(1.) A profit is made out of Post Office Savings Banks deposits.

(2.) The Treasury barely make both ends meet in the case of ordinary Savings Banks; and

(3.) They make a loss upon the Friendly Societies.

In proof of this they give the result of the year 1883 as nearly the different dates to which the accounts are made up permit.

1. Post Office Savings Banks:—

	£
Received interest on investments -	1,303,000
Their payments and costs were -	1,209,000
Profit - - -	94,000

2. The National Debt Office, on behalf of the old savings banks, received as interest - 1,343,000
They paid away - - - 1,337,000

Profit - - 6,000

It is, however, said that in this case no charge for expenses is made, and an allowance for that item would put an end to the profit.

3. The National Debt Office, on behalf of Friendly Societies, received as interest - - - - 4,000
They paid away - - - 52,000

Loss - - - 48,000

In this case also there is no allowance for expenses.

Thus, in round figures, in the year 1883 from the three different arrangements under which savings are received by the Government there was a nominal profit of about 40,000*l.* obtained under the head of interest.

The Treasury further argue that until Mr. Gladstone reduced the rate of interest on the old savings banks the annual vote which was taken for the deficiency of interest on the old savings banks and friendly societies equalled or passed the profit on the Post Office Savings Banks; and, moreover, there is a capital deficiency of the old savings banks and friendly societies account of more than 2,000,000*l.* which has to be wiped out by annual instalments. Welby, 11,473.

They accordingly calculate the profit and loss of the State upon the savings banks in the present year as follows:—

	£
Profit.	
Post Office Savings Banks - -	94,000
Old ditto - -	6,000
	£100,000
Loss.	
Represented by an issue out of the Consolidated Fund—	
Friendly Societies - -	52,000
Savings Bank Capital deficiency -	84,000
	£136,000
Net cost to the State (not counting certain expenses) - - -	36,000

Nor does the argument of the Treasury end here.

The National Debt Commissioners on behalf of Post Office and Old Savings Banks and Friendly Societies are a great investing body, and the Treasury officials point out that a profit has been made on the former, and the loss on the two latter funds has been reduced by the fact that for years they were able to buy 3 per cents. at 92 to 93. Now they have to buy them at over 100; and 2½ per cents., which they describe as the stock of the future, are at the price which up to 1876 used to be given for 3 per cents. The consequence is that the income is diminishing and will diminish.

Again, they point out what would be the result of dealing with the Post Office Savings Banks deposits alone. At the end of 1883 they held about 43,000,000*l.* invested on Post Office Savings Banks accounts invested at 3 per cent., and earning about 1,300,000*l.* If interest were to be reduced to 2¾ per cent. the loss calculated would be 108,000*l.*, converting the profit already mentioned of 94,000*l.* to a loss of 14,000*l.* If the reduction were made to 2½ per cent., the net loss would be 121,000*l.*, to be added in the charge which the savings banks already cause to the Consolidated Fund.

Such are the arguments the Treasury would urge if a definite proposal were made as to loans from particular funds, but Your Majesty's Commissioners are not inclined to advise the special treatment of funds derived by the State from special sources, and it is their opinion that the desirability of lending money at lower interest for artizans' and labourers' dwellings should be considered on its own merits apart from all question of the sources whence it comes. The general principle they would lay down is that the State should lend at the lowest rate possible without loss to the national exchequer, and that in making the necessary calculations ancient losses should not be brought into

account. The impression on their minds is that in the case of public bodies, where the security of local public income in addition to that of land and buildings can be given, a scale lower than the present one might be established. Where, after investigation, the security appeared complete this rate might be a reduction of $\frac{3}{8}$ on the 3½ per cent., which at present forms the lowest charge, inasmuch as the rate of 3⅛ per cent. apparently would cover expenses and leave a small margin. The limitation contained in s. 22 of 42 & 43 Vict. c. 64. (Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1868, Amendment Act, 1879,) might, in the opinion of Your Majesty's Commissioners, be repealed. Changes would also have to be made in the upper portion of the scale. Your Majesty's Commissioners are of opinion that the prolongation of the term of repayment and the re-adoption of the mode of repayment by way of annuity would still more facilitate borrowing, especially by the smaller corporations.

In connexion with this subject it should be mentioned that the course of procedure prior to the granting of a loan for labouring class dwellings under the Labouring Classes Dwelling Houses Act, 1866, is for applicants to furnish plans, specifications, and estimates of the dwellings, and the plans are then referred to the Office of Works, who employ their own staff to report upon their sufficiency and suitability for occupation. After this has been done the Public Works Loan Commissioners consider the application and the security. It is said on the authority of a First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw-Lefevre) that the Office of Works is not the department to which appropriately belongs this duty, and it is recommended that the duty of advising the Commissioners on artizans dwellings schemes for the metropolis under the Act referred to should be transferred to the Home Office, which now reports on schemes of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and to the Local Government Board for England and Wales, exclusive of the metropolis.

Spearman, 11,156.

Lefevre, 12,642.

Mention has been made of the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act, which was carried by Lord Shaftesbury through both Houses of Parliament in 1851. That this Act has been an absolute dead letter, so far as regards local authorities, there is the authority of its author, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, and of Mr. Owen, the Permanent Secretary of the Local Government Board, the last witness stating that he did not know of a single case of its having been adopted in any place, nor even of any effort on the part of philanthropic persons to get it adopted. Lord Shaftesbury gave it as his opinion, in the strongest possible terms, that if the Act had been put into operation it would, to use his own words, "meet almost everything that is required at the present moment," and that it contains powers which would remedy the greater part of the evils now existing. Some of the provisions of the Act have already been mentioned; its general object is to encourage the establishment of dwellings for the working classes by giving power to localities to adopt the Act, and to borrow on the security of the rates.

LABOURING CLASSES LODGING HOUSES ACT.

Shaftesbury, 4.

Owen, 380.

Lefevre, 12,685.

Shaftesbury, 5, 217.

In parishes in the metropolis with a population of 10,000, and in parishes in the provinces (not included in an urban sanitary district) with a like population, the procedure is as follows:—A vestry meeting for the special purpose has to be called on the requisition of 10 ratepayers, and if two thirds in value of the votes of the vestry on the question decide to adopt the Act, the vestry have to get the approval of the Secretary of State, and then to appoint certain ratepayers as commissioners who may borrow money on the mortgage of the rates, with the approval of the vestry and of the Treasury, and apply it to the erection of lodging-houses for the working classes. They may from time to time make such alterations and improvements in the dwellings as are necessary. The land on which they are to be built may be obtained either by appropriating to the purpose parish lands, or by purchasing or renting ground. The Commissioners, always with the sanction of the vestry and the Treasury, may purchase or lease existing lodging-houses, and undertake their management by byelaws of their making, which, among other things, fix the rent.

In urban sanitary districts the Act may be adopted by the urban sanitary authority, and the sanitary authority are the authority for carrying the Act into execution. If, however, at the time fixed for the consideration of the matter by a local board or improvement commissioners a memorial is presented by not less than "one tenth in value" of the persons liable to be rated to a general district or improvement rate, requesting the postponement of the question until after the next election of members of the local authority, the consideration must be so postponed. Further, in the case of Improvement Commissioners, where the majority of the members are elected or appointed without the concurrence of the persons liable to be rated to improvement rates, the commissioners cannot determine upon the adoption of the Acts without the sanction of the "major part in value" of the persons liable to be rated present at a meeting specially convened by the commissioners for the purpose. Looking at the powers which are conferred on a local authority by the Act when it has been adopted, it seems that Lord Shaftesbury's belief in its efficiency is not merely based on the natural favour with which a legislator regards his own productions. His Lordship's experience on the subject supports Your Majesty's Commissioners in the feeling that they may recommend that a trial should be given to this Act if amended in certain respects so as to make it effective.

Your Majesty's Commissioners would, in the first place, recommend that the Act should be made in London metropolitan instead of parochial. As long as the government of London remains in its present form the Metropolitan Board of Works should be the body invested with the execution of the Act. In the provinces of the sanitary authorities, rural as well as urban, should be the authority for the purposes of the Act.

Another reason given why the Act has remained a dead letter is that it has failed for want of more expeditious powers. The somewhat elaborate machinery devised for carrying it out was no

doubt thought to be a safeguard against an unduly burdensome scheme being placed upon the ratepayers. The local authorities may, however, be considered competent to protect the interests of the ratepayers, and if any further precaution against an imprudent scheme be needed, a local inquiry might be required before sanction was given to the borrowing of money for the purposes of the Act.

Your Majesty's Commissioners further recommend that the local authority should be empowered to adopt the Act by a majority of votes of the members present and voting, and that the consent of the ratepayers should not in any case be required for the adoption, and that the objections of ratepayers should not postpone the consideration of the question of adoption.

Again, supposing the Act were ever put in force in its present form, the Commissioners would have to negotiate for every separate interest in the property which they propose to acquire, and the owner of any interest, however trifling, could effectually stop proceedings by refusing to treat. It therefore seems expedient that in cases where suitable land cannot be obtained at a fair price by private treaty, provision should be made for conferring upon the local authority by provisional order compulsory powers to purchase land under the Act. Wilkins, 10,972.

Lord Shaftesbury holds that land which local authorities consider necessary for the erection of dwellings for the working classes should be put entirely on the same footing as to powers as those which are given to "railway companies and undertakings for general local improvements." In those cases, of course, great parliamentary expenses and serious delay are involved, which, in the execution of the Act under consideration, would be most undesirable. The formalities connected with a provisional order would prevent anything like undue haste, and without powers of compulsory purchase thus conferred the Act would continue to be a dead letter. Shaftesbury, 153.

Your Majesty's Commissioners therefore recommend that compulsory powers to purchase land under the Act should be given to the local authority by provisional order.

Your Majesty's Commissioners must observe in reference to Lord Shaftesbury's Acts, and to nearly every proposal for improving the dwellings of the working classes, as well as to other local improvements, that the present incidence of local taxation stands seriously in the way of all progress and reform. They do not feel that they are authorised by the terms of Your Majesty's Commission to go generally into the question of local taxation, but they are of opinion that until some reform is introduced which shall secure contribution to local expenditure from other sources of income received by residents in the locality, in addition to the present rateable property, no great progress can be made in local improvements.

RATING OF VACANT LAND.

In connexion with any such general consideration of the law of letting attention would have to be given to the following facts. At present, land available for building in the neighbourhood of

our populous centres, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for building. The owners of this land are rated not in relation to the real value but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market, and to part with only small quantities, so as to raise the price beyond the natural monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime, the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say, 4 per cent. on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a two-fold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burden on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the rateable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus their competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and so diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or price paid for land which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent landowners, a tax be it remembered which is no recompense for any industry or expenditure on their part, but is the natural result of the industry and activity of the townspeople themselves. Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that these matters should be included in legislation when the law of rating comes to be dealt with by Parliament.

Special application of Lord Shaftesbury's Act to Rural Districts.

The witnesses from the rural districts gave a large mass of evidence, showing that the cultivation of a plot of land attached to the dwelling was of the greatest advantage from every point of view to the labouring classes in the country. The evidence on the point was unanimous, whether in reference to plots of arable or of pasture land, of potato or of garden ground. Evidence was given of the great desire which the labourers have for a piece of land to cultivate themselves. It was shown that when they had land to cultivate they spent the time upon it which might otherwise be less advantageously employed; consequently the possession of a plot of ground, by its encouragement of thrifty habits and of labour which would otherwise not be exerted, was of general benefit to the community as well as to the cottager and his family. As far as the labourers are themselves concerned, it was pointed out that they could afford higher rents for better dwellings if they had some ground to cultivate attached to the cottages, as the possession of land would add largely to their yearly income, and it was shown how this profit could be made by the labourers putting into the ground an occasional hour's or half an hour's work whenever they had time to spare. It was mentioned that another advantage of having ground attached to cottages was that in case of infectious disease isolation could be carried out without deprivation of fresh air. This may be only a minor reason for the possession of land by the labourer, but when the ravages of contagious illnesses in villages are considered it is not without its importance.

Pike, 14,546.

Simmons, 14,749.

Pike, 14,555.

Girdlestone, 17,235.

Pike, 14,543.

Simmons, 14,712.

Ball, 15,337.

Stubbs, 16,012.

Downes, 16,857.

Your Majesty's Commissioners consider it desirable that every encouragement should be given to the possession of land for the purpose of cultivation by the labourers in the agricultural districts; and they recommend that Lord Shaftesbury's Act be so amended as to extend the power given to the local authority to the letting to each tenement of not more than half an acre of garden ground, to be let with each tenement, held under the Act, at such rent as land of similar quantity is usually let for in the neighbourhood.

Much evidence has been given before Your Majesty's Commissioners as to the great advantage that still larger holdings would in many cases confer on cottagers, and the assistance that such holdings would afford to enable tenants to pay a remunerative rent for their cottages. Some interesting evidence was given describing an experiment in this direction which Lord Tollemache has carried out on his Cheshire estate. His Lordship has built nearly 200 three-roomed cottages, as was mentioned previously, to each of which is attached three acres of grass land, and the improved condition of the labourers in consequence is described as very remarkable: their houses, their families, and themselves are said to present an appearance of great prosperity and comfort. Your Majesty's Commissioners, however, abstain from making any recommendation on this subject, feeling that it is somewhat beyond the scope of Your Majesty's instructions. Impey, 14,903, &c.

It is probable that Lord Shaftesbury's Act, even if amended as proposed, will not be employed by the existing rural authorities in all cases where it might be applied, but Your Majesty's Commissioners in making their recommendation have in view the probability of reform in county administration at no distant date. REFORM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Suggestions have been made of legislation involving universal provisions founded on Sir Sidney Waterlow's Chambers and Offices Act, 1881 (44 & 45 Vict. c. clxxxii.). This special Act of Parliament was obtained in order to give facilities for the acquisition by artizans and labourers of the tenements they occupy as industrial dwellings. From the number of small houses which have been purchased through the aid of building societies by the working classes there is evidence of a strong desire on their part to become the owners of their homes, but they have hitherto not been able to do so where they live in the tenement blocks which have come into existence during the last few years, on a system which is destined to attain a larger development. It seems that there is no difficulty about the sale of separate portions of blocks of buildings, but without special legislation it has been impossible to deal with the rights which are common to owners and occupiers, such as staircases, passages, walls, roofs, drains, and gas and water supply, and to provide satisfactorily for the management of these, as well as for repairs, cleaning, re-building in case of fire, and the making of byelaws to be enforced by penalties. The Act was consequently framed and passed in 1881, its full title being, "An Act to facilitate the management of blocks of EXTENDED APPLICATION OF THE CHAMBERS AND OFFICES ACT, 1881. Waterlow, 11,944.

"buildings occupied in sections as separate tenements, and the "disposal of each separate tenement, and for that purpose to "incorporate a company with powers of management, and also "powers to erect and promote the erection of such buildings, "and other powers." By this it will be seen that the Act specially empowered a company of its own creation to carry out its provisions. A corporation was consequently established under the title of "The Chambers and Offices Company." It is empowered to take over and manage the common rights in buildings, constructed in sections for occupation as separate tenements, and to arrange with the owners under what regulations and byelaws the rooms themselves shall be held and used, leaving the ownership of the rooms in the hands of the original owners to be disposed of at such prices as they may think fit as separate freeholds, or otherwise, according to the tenure of the property.

POWER TO ALLOW CAPITAL TO BE REPAID IN RENT.

One very important feature of the Act is a plan whereby arrangements can be made for the occupiers, by paying an increased rent over a certain number of years, to become the actual owners of the rooms they occupy. If this principle can be put into a practical form it is one which Your Majesty's Commissioners would strongly recommend.

Waterlow, 11,944.

It appears from inquiries which have been made by Sir Sidney Waterlow's Company that in London about 12,000,000*l.* have been invested in buildings containing separate tenements for the accommodation of the working classes; but when its Chairman gave his evidence in June 1884, no arrangements had then been entered into with any owners for the operation of the Act. Its promoters are very sanguine of success, and state that they have the opinion of counsel and of solicitors that the scheme is absolutely free from difficulty. It is said that it will work with equal advantage both for owners and for occupiers; that the former will be able to get a higher price by letting tenements separately than they could otherwise; while the latter in becoming owners on easy terms will then come into possession of a profitable investment, which, as is known from experience of shareholders, returns a large rate of interest. Your Majesty's Commissioners would therefore suggest the extension of an amended form of the Act to all companies incorporated for the purpose of providing dwellings for the working classes, provided they desire to come under its operation. If the Act were to become universal, the place of the company might often be taken by the local authority.

Forwood, 13,671, &c.

There is evidence before Your Majesty's Commissioners of a willingness on the part of municipalities to become landowners in connexion with working-class dwelling improvements, but local authorities which are public spirited enough to enter into such transactions would not be likely to take in hand operations in which there is only the assurance of the originators of the measure in question that difficulties will not arise. The difficulties would probably not be so much felt at first while the buildings were in a good condition, as afterwards when extensive repairs were needed. Again, it remains to be seen if there would be

many purchasers among the poorer classes of the freehold tenements in question. The purchase of small houses is quite a different thing: it is true that the prejudice against model dwellings is wearing away among the labouring classes, but though they are learning to appreciate their comfort, it is not likely for many years to come that working men will look upon a tenement in quite the same light as a house, or will not always consider the possession of the latter, however small, as a worthier aim of proprietary ambition than the freehold of an undivided portion of a gigantic edifice. The recommendation of the universal application of this measure must therefore be made with reserve, but Your Majesty's Commissioners will probably obtain further information bearing on this subject during their investigation into the dwellings of the working classes in Scotland, and on the conclusion of that portion of their inquiry will be enabled to make recommendations on the question with less reserve.

Your Majesty's Commissioners meanwhile would recommend generally, with reference to all kinds of dwellings, that facilities should be given to allow capital to be repaid in rent, with a view to giving to tenants facilities for becoming freeholders.

CROSS'S ACTS.

Your Majesty's Commissioners have other suggestions to make in addition to those made earlier in the report in connexion with the working of the series of statutes, known as Sir Richard Cross's Acts, which were said in evidence to have done more for the dwellings of the poor than any other enactments. The amending Act of 1882 was the result of the conclusions arrived at by the Parliamentary Committees appointed to inquire into their working. It is not proposed to go over again the ground covered by the report of the Committees, but to examine one or two points of criticism to the effect that, notwithstanding the intention of their promoters, the Acts have in their operation disappointed the hopes with which they were introduced. Your Majesty's Commissioners must not be understood to be anticipating the failure of the amending Act of 1882, sufficient time not having elapsed to show if it is a completely effective piece of legislation.

Chamberlain, 12,369.

COMPENSATION.

One of the most important points in question is that of compensation,—the compensation due to persons interested in property, whether as ground landlords or leaseholders, when it is demolished for improvements. The evidence taken on this subject before the Committees of 1881–1882 was very copious, and the only additional witnesses called with especial reference to it by Your Majesty's Commissioners were Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre.

VALUATION.

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre gave the figures of the cost of 11 improvement schemes in London under the Act of 1879, which have resulted in a loss of one and a quarter millions to the Metropolitan Board of Works, of which 400,000*l.* is estimated to be due to excessive valuation. There is evidence of similar experience from Birmingham, and one explanation is found in the fact that local authorities have been compelled to purchase under the terms

Lefevre, 12,636.

of the Lands Clauses Acts, which is said to produce in every case an excessive value. But another cause to which greater objection is taken is the method pursued by the official arbitrators in deciding that all interests in such property to be taken compulsorily must be dealt with at one and the same time. The evidence of Mr. Chamberlain as to what happened at Birmingham in this way was as follows:—

Chamberlain, 12,377.

Chamberlain, 12,378.

"It was intended to purchase the freeholds only, and to leave the temporary interests, the remains of leases and short tenancies, to run out unless they could deal with the owners of them on very reasonable terms; but they were forced by Sir Henry Hunt to purchase all these temporary interests, which involved the necessity for giving compensation for the businesses established in connexion with these temporary interests. That enabled the owners to make very large demands, which were thought in many cases quite unreasonable, and which certainly added greatly to the cost of the property which had to be purchased after his decision was made known, that is to say, it increased the prices paid under agreement as well."

Mr. Chamberlain points out that one of the most difficult interests to purchase is the interest in a business; it is a speculative thing; the moment a man has to value his business he puts upon it the most extraordinary valuation; he makes all sorts of sanguine calculations as to what he anticipates that he will do, and generally appears to be convinced that he cannot do the same thing even though he moves only a few yards further off. The result is that when the case goes before a jury or an arbitrator he gets never what he asks but always a vast deal more than the property is really worth. And the witness goes on to say "if we "were allowed to say to him, You have only got a 10 years' "interest in this place; it is not necessary to purchase before the "end of 10 years, and therefore we will wait until they have run "out when you will have to find another location, I am quite "sure that we should have very much more moderate returns."

Chamberlain, 12,385.

The witness estimates that the additional charge thrown upon the Birmingham improvements by the arbitrator's decision was 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.*, that being the amount in excess over what the property would have fetched had it been disposed of in the ordinary way. From the occurrence of cases like this it is recommended by witnesses that the arbitrator should be required to give only such value as willing sellers would obtain in the market, supposing there were willing purchasers; that is to say, if it were proved that in any particular district the ordinary price of land was 30 years' purchase of the rental, that would be the price which a willing purchaser would give to a willing seller; but the practice is, supposing 30 years' purchase to be the ordinary price, to run it up to 35 or 40 years' purchase when a public authority wants to buy, and it was mentioned that 50 years' purchase of the rental was often given under compulsion.

Chamberlain, 12,413.

Chamberlain, 12,495.

Young, 6017.

This evidence is corroborated by that of other witnesses, among whom Mr. Young, the surveyor of the London School

ard, says that the reason why so many unhealthy areas have
mained untouched in the metropolis is the fear of excessive
mpensation. Sir Curtis Lampson, as the result of his experience Lampson,
h the Peabody Trust, says that buildings in a bad state have 11,754.
en paid for enormously; he moreover makes a special complaint
out the lawyers' costs; and without quoting others, Mr. A. B. Forwood,
rwood of Liverpool says that the money paid by the corpora- 13,380.
n of that city to the people who owned bad houses was a very
ch larger sum than they were morally entitled to.

The Artizans Dwellings Act of 1875 provided that the estimated Chamberlain,
ne of the premises within the unhealthy area shall be based 12,408.
on the fair market value as estimated at the time of the valuation
ng made and of the several interests in the premises, due
gard being had to the nature and the then condition of the
operty, to the probable duration of the buildings in their
sting state, and the state of repair thereof, and of all circum-
nces affecting such value, without any additional allowance for
mpulsory purchase. So far as the intention of the Act goes, it
pears manifest that the object of the authors and the object of
rliament was that the owners of this property should only
ain a fair value and nothing more; but, as a matter of fact,
l in practice, they have succeeded in spite of the Act in
aining a great deal more. Mr. Chamberlain, in reference to Chamberlain,
se provisions, said, "If I had myself to draw the Act I do 12,408-409.
think I could have improved upon the terms of it," and
in, in giving it as his opinion that it is not the fault of the Act
t owners obtain more than their fair value, he said, "If I had
o deal with the thing without the experience of the Act I do
ot think I could have devised words which should better carry
ut the fair consideration in these cases."

The alteration in the Act of 1879 is considerable. The third
ion of the Act is as follows:—"On the occasion of assessing
he compensation payable under any improvement scheme in
espect of any house or premises situate within an unhealthy
rea, evidence shall be receivable by the arbitrator to prove that
t the date of the confirming Act authorising such scheme, or
t some previous date not earlier than the date of the official
epresentation in which the scheme originated, such house or
remises was, by reason of its unhealthy state or by reason of
vercrowding or otherwise, in such a condition as to have been
nuisance within the meaning of the Acts relating to nuisances;
nd if the arbitrator is satisfied that, from either of such causes
s aforesaid, such house or premises was at such dates as
foresaid, or either of them, a nuisance as aforesaid, he shall
hen determine what would have been the value of such house
r premises, supposing the nuisance to have been abated, and
what would have been the expense of abating the nuisance, and
he amount of compensation payable in respect of such house or
remises shall be an amount equal to the estimated value of
he house or premises after the nuisance was abated and after
educting the estimated expense of abating the nuisance."

Chamberlain, 12,412.

This, however, does not give sufficient help. The ordinary case is of a house which is a nuisance and dangerous to health. Under that provision there would have to be deducted from the value of the house the cost of putting it into sanitary repair; but then the arbitrator will sometimes not be content to give the value of the house as it stood, and for the purposes for which it was then used; he will take into account the probability that that house, or the land upon which it stands, may subsequently be used for other purposes, such as factories, warehouses, new streets, or something of that kind; and the value given, therefore, is often something altogether different from and out of proportion to the value, if the property be regarded in connexion with its existing uses.

There are arbitrators who seem not to exclude from their minds the improvement of the property that would be due to the scheme itself, and give a prospective value to the unhealthy property in consequence of their impression that it would be increased in value when the improvement was effected.

45 & 46 Vict. c. 54. s. 4.

Chamberlain, 12,409.

To come now to the words of the Amending Act of 1882 (45 & 46 Vict. c. 54. s. 4.), which it has been thought might be sufficient for the purposes in view, section 4 of that Act strikes out the words having regard to "all circumstances affecting such value." The repeal of the words was due to the evidence of arbitrators before the Select Committee, to the effect that they had been influenced by them to increase the valuation.

Report from the Select Committee on Artizans and Labourers Dwellings, 1882, p. vii.

It will be useful to quote here the words of the Report from the Committee of 1882:—

"Your Committee find that some difficulty has arisen from the "words in section 3 of the Act of 1875, 'due regard being had "to all circumstances affecting such value' (which were inserted "at the instance of the late Mr. Cawley in Committee), as "appearing to grant what has been called 'a valuation of con-"tingent probabilities'; they think that under these words the "valuation has in some cases been too high, and they recommend "that they should be left out by future legislation.

"Sir Henry Hunt, one of the arbitrators under the Act, has "told your Committee that if a house is in a dilapidated con-"dition, and it would be waste of money to repair it, he should "calculate the value upon the principle of what the land is worth "and the materials, and that he should let the claimant have that, "and no more. Mr. Rodwell, another of the arbitrators, has told "your Committee that in valuing such land, he should only "value it as subject to the evil surroundings in which it was "there placed, and not as situated in a cleared space. Your "Committee are clearly of opinion that these principles thus "laid down are in conformity with the spirit and intention of the "Acts, and should guide all future arbitration in this matter.

"The question of compensation for trade profit is a more "difficult matter to deal with. It has been doubted whether "in strictness of law the Act contemplated any compensation "for trade profit at all. It is difficult, however, to contest the

conclusion of Sir H. Hunt and Mr. Rodwell, that where the business is connected with any particular holding, the occupier is entitled to moderate compensation; but your Committee are of opinion that the arbitrator should in all cases consider well whether the trader has not the opportunity of setting up his trade somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood without positive injury, in which case he would clearly be entitled only to proper expenses connected with removal."

As no large scheme had been carried out under the Act of 1882, which was the result of the Report of the above-mentioned Committee, when the evidence quoted previously was given before Your Majesty's Commissioners, it remains to be seen what the result of the omission of the words will be. Arbitrators and juries have, it is stated, a natural tendency to award excessive compensation when they have the public purse or the rates to draw upon. The districts to be dealt with, moreover, are generally crowded, and, as has been seen, rents are consequently driven up, and there is again the multiplicity of interests involved between those of the ground landlord and those of the actually occupying tenants. Even with the repeal of the words "and all circumstances affecting such value," it does not seem likely that arbitrators with the discretion still allowed them would assess the compensation to all the persons interested as if the property were in the hands of one person, though theoretically that rate ought to be adopted; and the law also requires strengthening by a recognition that compensation should only be calculated on the base of the capacity of a house and not on the numbers actually living in it, inasmuch as overcrowding at present puts a premium on property. Lefevre, 12,645.

The first arbitration under the Act of 1882, in the Marylebone case, is supposed to have laid down the principle that if a house was in such a condition that it ought to be demolished, the only claim that the owner would have would be for the value of the site plus that of the old materials. This statement, however, either begs the question of what is the value of the site. Your Majesty's Commissioners support the principle, that in a purchase by a local authority of land in an unhealthy area, for what are recognised by the Legislature to be great public purposes, they ought to be entitled to purchase upon terms that will secure the fair market value and no more to the owners of the property, and they would also recommend that in future legislation stronger words should be used, which might carry out the suggestions of the arbitrators examined before the Select Committee of 1882 with reference to the excessive assessment of the damage done to trade profits. Owen, 531. Dixon, 1506.

In the opinion of witnesses appeals should be abolished, because they add greatly to the expense and are of advantage to nobody but the lawyers and surveyors, whose interest it is to prolong the proceedings. Their emoluments should likewise be checked by fixing a scale of professional charges in connexion with the working of the Acts. Your Majesty's Commissioners recommend that

where the appeal exists, it shall only be on an order, after leave obtained from a superior court, on grounds which shall satisfy the court that a failure of justice has taken place. They would also recommend that opposition to the confirmation of a provisional order should be confined to the single statutory ground that the area is not an unhealthy area within the meaning of the Acts, and, in cases only where lands are proposed to be taken not included in the area in respect to which the official representation was made, that such lands are not required for the purpose of the scheme.

AMENDMENT OF S. 2 OF THE ARTIZANS DWELLINGS ACT OF 1875 (38 & 39 VICT. C. 36.).

Although Sir Richard Cross's Acts are specially applicable to districts with large populations, it may sometimes happen that the local authority of a district of less than the minimum population at present prescribed (25,000) find that the provisions of those Acts might with advantage be applied to an unhealthy area within their district. In more than one instance the authority of a district with a population less than 25,000 have, when promoting a Local Bill in Parliament, introduced clauses applying to their districts the Acts in question. Having regard to the fact that no scheme under the Acts can be carried out except under a provisional order confirmed by Parliament, Your Majesty's Commissioners consider that there is no reason why the limitation as regards population should be retained.

BETTERMENT.

Returning to the question of compensation, the evidence has shown that there have been striking instances of compensation which has been paid in cases where persons have received payment for actual advantage which has accrued to their property from the demolitions or alterations; for example, where a portion of property is taken in order to widen a street. It was stated by Mr. Chamberlain that enormous compensations have been paid to landowners in such cases. Six feet, for instance, has been taken off their frontage, and instead of facing, as they have hitherto done, a mean court, or a wretched side street, they find themselves on a great thoroughfare, and the remaining part of their property is worth twice or three times as much as the whole of it was worth before; and yet, although nothing is taken from them by way of contribution, they may have secured enormous compensation. At the same time it should be mentioned that it has not unfrequently been the practice of Parliament to enable the improving authority to include within their limits of deviation additional land where there is prospect of considerable improvement.

Chamberlain, 12,504.

This leads to the consideration of a most important question connected with compensation and the incidence of rating—the principle which is known by the name of Betterment. It is the principle that rates should be levied in a higher measure upon the property which derives a distinct and direct advantage from an improvement, instead of upon the community generally, who have only the advantage of the general amelioration in the health of the district. American legislation has adopted the principle that where public improvements are effected by the local authority they ought to be able to bring in aid of the cost of the improve-

Chamberlain, 12,416–19.

ient any additional value conferred on the adjoining property by reason of the improvement. Evidence on this point was given by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Mr. Forwood, and Mr. Meyer, the editor of the "Sanitary Engineer," of New York. Chamberlain, 12,417. Lefevre, 12,672, 12,747.

In this country the principle has been to a small extent adopted in the Acts of 1879, and of 1882. The former provides that an arbitrator is to take into account, in estimating the amount of compensation to be given to an owner, any additional value given to the adjoining property of the same owner by reason of the destruction of his house which is in bad condition. This, to some extent, incorporates the principle, but only as regards the same owner. Then, in a clause of the Act of 1882, a provision was introduced that where an obstructive building is taken for the purpose of improving the adjacent property the improvements given to that property may be charged upon it in the shape of a rate in aid. The advocates of Betterment think that in every case an adjoining property, if it can be shown to be improved, should pay more than the general rate of the town towards the improvement scheme. Forwood, 13,395. Meyer, 14,156. Chamberlain, 12,417. Lefevre, 12,673. Chamberlain, 12,538.

It would not, of course, be conceded that every improvement had increased the value of neighbouring property. Supposing, for instance, a *cul de sac* were thrown open for the sake of making a thoroughfare from one part of a town to another, although *culs de sac* are very objectionable in poor neighbourhoods, yet for high class residences they are much sought after for the sake of the quiet that comes from the absence of traffic; an owner of such residential property might urge that it had deteriorated in consequence. Or, again, the opening up of a great main street might divert traffic, and consequently trade, from other streets left on one side, and here too it might be urged that injury had been done to shop property. It would be necessary in any case to widen the scope of the local inquiry which is now undertaken by the Home Office or the Local Government Board in the case of improvement schemes. The inspector would have to examine the proposal by the local authority to levy a special rate either within a certain radius over a sub-area or upon certain properties which they alleged would be greatly benefited by the improvement. There are great practical difficulties in working out the idea, and it has been suggested that local opposition to improvement schemes might be increased by the adoption of the principle. Shaftesbury, 58. Lefevre, 12,837. Lefevre, 12,842. Chamberlain, 12,419.

It has been shown that the owners of large properties are often under the disability of not having the power to let land on long leases on other than the best terms possible. When the Duke of Westminster's re-settlement was drawn in 1874 a clause was put in to enable him to let land for the purpose of artizans' dwellings upon other than the best terms; that is to say, he is empowered to let upon such terms as are calculated to procure the erection of such dwellings, although they may not produce the highest possible rent that might be obtained. It is recommended, with the support of the evidence of the Duke of Westminster's agent, that the law

EXTENSION OF POWER TO APPLY TRUST FUNDS, &c. Boodle, 887.

Boodle, 819, 984.

should be altered so that words to this effect should be read into all future settlements. There would probably be very little controversy on this point among owners of property, and the agent just quoted, representing as he does the most valuable interests in house property in London, speaks with great authority. Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that the law be so amended that limited owners and corporations be empowered to apply trust funds on other than the best terms where the object is the erection of artizans' dwellings on their land.

AMENDMENT OF SETTLED LAND ACT.

Boodle, 3657.

A cognate question is the application of the Settled Land Act for the raising of loans by a freeholder of an entailed estate for working class dwellings. It seems that this Act would not authorise any loan for or apply to any building in towns, but only to farm buildings and cottages in the country. It is therefore suggested that there should be an amendment of the Act so as to make it apply to improvements in towns. At present it appears that the Act does not give powers for improving urban properties, while it does give powers to put up cottages for artizans not employed on the settled estate.

Your Majesty's Commissioners recommend that the Settled Land Act be so amended as to permit the application of trust funds to improvements in towns by way of building.

LEGAL EXPENSES.

Forwood, 14,374.

Lampson, 11,754.

Your Majesty's Commissioners, in the course of their inquiry, elicited a great deal of evidence which proved the fact that immense sums of money are, in connexion with improvements, yearly sunk in legal expenses. Mr. Forwood stated that the 72,000*l.* which was paid in compensation for 635 insanitary houses in Liverpool, was out of all proportion to what the owners were morally entitled to; but the sum of 10,000*l.* paid to lawyers for their legal charges in connexion with the same transactions is a much more surprising figure. When details come to be examined the large figures are less to be wondered at. Sir Curtis Lampson testified that no sooner is a property condemned than local solicitors call upon the people who have houses and propose to them to manage the business for them. He mentioned the case of a condemned house, valued at 20*l.*, where the solicitors' charges amounted to 57*l.*

It is, however, with reference to a special class of legal charges that Your Majesty's Commissioners have received evidence which showed that the reduction of the legal expenses in connexion with the transfer of land would greatly strengthen societies which have been founded to interest workmen in thrift by enabling them to become purchasers of dwellings. Your Majesty's Commissioners examined some facts and figures which were brought forward by the secretary to the Oddfellows Corporation Building Company, a society possessing a considerable amount of property in and near Manchester. The first operation of the company was the erection of 27 houses on a piece of market-garden freehold land, which was divided into 27 plots. At 20 years' purchase the agricultural value of the land was 4*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* a plot, and the building value at the same rate was 40*l.* 15*s.* The legal expenses in connexion

Sowerbutts, 13,881, &c.

ith the land up to the final granting of the conveyance to each f the tenant purchasers was about 14*l.* per plot, that is three mes the original capitalised value of the land and one third of ie amount of the enhanced capitalised value; and the total legal xpenses upon this piece of land amounted to 378*l.*, although here was no sort of difficulty with the title. Another instance as quoted of the purchase by a working man of a cottage for 220*l.* where the deeds cost 66*l.* for the inquiry into the title. Sowerbutts, 13,902. uilding societies are on a more favourable footing than a company like this one, as they are not liable to the same extent to the harges under the solicitor's remuneration scale. This, however, a matter of degree, and it has been asserted that at present it almost impossible for a working man to become the owner of s house without putting an enormous additional per-centage of value into the possession of the lawyers. Sowerbutts, 13,889. Sowerbutts, 13,911.

The evidence before Your Majesty's Commissioners shows that ere is a widespread dissatisfaction, especially among the more ovident of the working class and those desirous of purchasing eir own houses, at the difficulty and cost connected with the nsfer of land and a belief that this expense and difficulty might greatly diminished by a reform of the law. Your Majesty's mmissioners feel that they are unable to make any definite ggestions on this point, while they fully appreciate the importce of the object sought to be attained, and they are of opinion t any possible reforms in this direction must be the result of a parate and special inquiry.

Turning to the subject of re-housing the poor who have been placed by demolitions, especially in the metropolis, the whole estion of the relations of the railway companies with the work- classes is opened up. Railway Companies.

In examining the causes of overcrowding in the centre of the tropolis, it was shown that the majority of the poor neighbour- population were under compulsion to live within reach of ir work, and that those parts of the town and the suburbs in ch there was no pressure were out of the question as places of dence for this class because they were not within a walk of r employment. Again, the earnings of the class in question e shown to be at a rate that left no margin for the extra cost travelling expenses. If, therefore, the railways are to be ised for the benefit of the poorer wage-earning classes two litions must be satisfied:—first, the fares must not exceed the erence between the rent of their homes in the overcrowded tricts which ought to be relieved and the lower rents in the rbs; secondly, the companies must provide carriages at these aced fares which will bring the people to and from their work nvenient hours. Workmen's Trains.

The Secretary of the London Trades Council put the case : he said that when the labouring classes are driven out into suburbs, two hours out of their working day is the tax which have to pay for the removal, and he adds that from examina- of railway accounts he considers it to be quite possible to fix Shipton, 12,949.

the fares at such a rate as would not be hurtful to the people who have to travel, and not a loss to the companies.

The President of the Board of Trade allowed that there was great difficulty in defining a workman's train, excepting in general terms as a train which is run for the convenience of workmen at certain early hours of the day and at moderate and reasonable prices. The Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade who directs the Railway Department of that office said, with regard to the latter, that the fare for workmen's trains run under statutory enactment is 1*d.* for the single journey, and he also gave statistics to show that in many cases the companies run trains at a still lower figure.

Chamberlain, 12,426.

Calcraft, 9971.

Until 1883 no provision was made by any public general Act to compel railway companies to run workmen's trains. Provisions for that purpose were first made in the North London (City Branch) Act and the Metropolitan Act, 1861; afterwards in the Acts of the London, Chatham, and Dover, and the Great Eastern Railway Companies, with regard to their respective metropolitan extensions, and in the Acts of the Metropolitan District, and Great Eastern Railways in 1864, and in some other subsequent Acts.

Calcraft, 9961.

The companies have, however, in this matter gone far beyond their legal obligations. The trains which they have thus been required by law to run have been 11, over a mileage of 50½ miles, while they have actually provided 107 trains, over a mileage of 704 miles.

There are, nevertheless, three companies having stations in London which have never run workmen's trains, the Great Western, the London and North-Western, and the Midland. The Great Western has not until lately touched districts inhabited by the labouring classes, though a population of that class is now crowding along the line; but the London and North-Western has a terminus close to one of the most overcrowded districts of London, while the Midland Company itself pulled down an enormous number of workmen's dwellings, and there is evidence before Your Majesty's Commissioners of the overcrowding and misery caused thereby. The Act of 1883 puts these and other companies in a different position. Under that Act the Board of Trade, if they have reason to believe that upon any railway carrying passengers, proper and sufficient workmen's trains are not provided for workmen going to and returning from their work at such fares and at such times between 6 o'clock in the evening and 8 o'clock in the morning, as appears to the Board of Trade to be reasonable, may cause inquiry to be made, and may order the company to provide such accommodation as they may think fit; and in case of refusal by the railway company may issue a certificate under which the company would lose the benefit of the Act, so far as relates to the remission of duty. The companies that do not run workmen's trains have been communicated with by the Board of Trade, and they have expressed their willingness to give favourable consideration to any proposals which may be made to them. The Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade gave

Watkin, 10,441.

Calcraft, 9961.

Calcraft, 9965.

uch detailed information to show how the other companies were ing a great deal more than they had been compelled to do; and also gave a number of instances of the running of workmen's ins in the provinces beyond statutory obligations. In many of e latter cases, however, the demand for cheap transit is more a tter of choice and convenience than of the necessity that comes om overcrowding. Calcraft, 9979.

Mr. Calcraft thought that from the fact that railway companies e running workmen's trains in excess of their parliamentary ligations, the inference might fairly be drawn that they find em to answer, thus bearing out what was conjectured by the ecretary of the London Trades Council. The State has inter- ed in this matter in the public interest, rather with reference what the working classes can afford than to what will pay the mpanies. The State assumes and exercises the right to control e price of conveyance on account of the monopoly which the mpanies are presumed to exercise in the conveyance of traffic. the question of the cheap trains paying there is a conflict of dence. Sir Edward Watkin doubts the commercial advantage continuing to run these trains in the absence of the induce- nt or compulsion of the Act of 1883, but what he chiefly com- ins of is their disturbance of the general traffic. This, with- doubt, is the chief difficulty in connexion with the subject of kmen's trains. It is a comparatively easy thing to bring work- n in their thousands to work in the early morning before the t of the world is stirring, but it is a matter of the greatest ficulty to take them back at the busiest hours of the afternoon; l another difficulty that is raised is that the morning traffic is one way, and that therefore the trains have to return empty to station from which they started. On this account the com- ies dislike the inconvenience more than they fear the pecuniary s. Calcraft, 10,015. Calcraft, 10,118. Watkin, 10,594. Calcraft, 9997. Chamberlain, 12,427.

The Act of Parliament of 1883 mentioned 8 o'clock in the rning as the limit of time for workmen's trains, but at present st of them are run before 7 o'clock, and it is said that if the mpanies were compelled to run them till 8 it would tell very dly upon them in interfering with the clerks' traffic which ins just then. It is therefore contended for this reason and others which were given in evidence that the powers under the of 1883 must be exercised with great discretion. Your jesty's Commissioners are, however, of opinion that under it a gain was struck between the nation and the railway companies, consideration for the remission of a part of the passenger duty g the provision of a certain number of workmen's trains. The sident of the Board of Trade prefers not to look upon it in light of a bargain, on the ground that the repeal of the pas- ger duty can be justified on public grounds quite independently ny question of the provision of workmen's trains, but that at same time opportunity was taken to give greater powers to the rd of Trade with the expectation that they would from time me apply a pressure to the companies to increase this accom- ation. Birt, 10,179. Calcraft, 10,017. Chamberlain, 2,426.

Birt, 10,172. The powers of the Board of Trade have not been extensively, if at all, exercised at present, but the proceedings would be somewhat as follows. If they found, upon inquiry, that there was a sufficient reason to order the running of workmen's trains they could make the order, and, supposing the company refused, the Board of Trade could either refer the matter to the Railway Commissioners or settle it themselves, the company having power of appeal to the Railway Commissioners, who might decide whether they thought the requirements of the Board of Trade reasonable or not. In the event of their deciding against the company, then, if they do not give the necessary facilities for workmen's trains, they would have to pay the old rate of duty upon their receipts, which would amount to a very considerable fine for their default. The penalty, though a heavy one, would thus not be imposed without the greatest deliberation. Moreover, it is not the custom of the Board of Trade to take the initiative in these matters. Its practice has been to allow itself to be put in motion on the representation of parties concerned.

Calcraft, 9992.

Calcraft, 10,020.

The Board of Trade contend that if any great necessity arose it would be heard of in Parliament, or their attention would be called to it from outside, without the necessity of having a staff of inspectors for the purpose. The evidence of the President of the Board of Trade on this point is of sufficient importance to make it desirable to quote it *in extenso;* he says "The "question of the principle upon which we are to proceed is "of extreme importance. We might proceed upon one of two "principles. We might undertake in every case the initiative, "and we might examine for ourselves into the provision made. "We might determine what we thought to be adequate provision, "and we might enforce it upon the railway companies. We "have tremendous penalties in our power if we choose to enforce "them. That, I think, would be a most imprudent step for the "Board of Trade or a Government department to take; it would "practically mean our undertaking the administration of railways, "and in that case we should have to proceed upon hypotheses "in every case, upon hypotheses with which we have much less "practical acquaintance than the railway companies themselves. "We should have to proceed upon the assumption of their "being unwilling to afford this accommodation; it would be "necessary for us to enforce a minimum which in every case "would become the maximum, and I believe the result would "be that less accommodation would be provided than if we "leave a great deal to the initiative of the companies. Then "we should have to settle what constitutes a workmen's train; "the only definition I can give is that it is a train that is run "for their convenience at certain early hours in the day, in the "early morning, and at certain moderate and reasonable prices, "and under the Act we have to settle what are reasonable prices. "To do that we must examine the accounts of the company "to make ourselves acquainted with the costs of these trains, "to ascertain whether the proposed rate of fare would or would "not be reasonable. Then there is a still greater difficulty,

Calcraft, 10,030.

Chamberlain, 12,426.

namely, that if we were to enforce these trains we must interpose them into the regular traffic of the company, and we might upset the whole of their traffic arrangements. We should at once have to do what is the most difficult part of the work of a traffic manager of a railway (who has the most difficult administration, I venture to think, of any subject of the (Queen) if we were to take that work from his shoulders and put it upon ours. Nothing but the most tremendous necessity would in my opinion justify anything like that sort of interference on the part of the Board of Trade, and I should strongly oppose on behalf of the Board of Trade undertaking any work of the kind. I do not think that any necessity does exist for it; I think the evidence we have shows that we may safely rely upon the voluntary action of the railway companies, stimulated as it will be from time to time by a certain amount of judicious pressure."

Your Majesty's Commissioners would here endorse the recommendation of the Select Committee of 1882, which was as follows:—

"In connexion with this subject your Committee would call attention to the importance of favouring in every way facilities of transit between the great centres of industry and the outlying districts, and especially between the metropolis and its suburbs. Owing to economic causes, land in the central parts of London is, generally speaking, becoming too valuable to be easily made use of as sites for dwellings for the working classes, and property of this kind, including areas scheduled under these Acts, is being constantly bought up and converted to other purposes. Side by side with this movement there is a large migration of the working classes to the suburbs, where in some places private enterprise is busy erecting tenements and providing cheap means of locomotion. The question of the condition of this suburban population, whose employment lies in London, has necessarily occupied the attention of your Committee, and induced them to make the following recommendation:—

"That similar conditions as to workmen's trains within a certain distance from London to those now imposed upon the Great Eastern Railway Company should be enforced in the case of other railways as opportunities may offer. Such an opportunity has just offered in the case of the Regent's Canal Bill. They have strongly recommended this Bill to the notice of the Board of Trade, in consequence of which proper clauses will be inserted on their suggestion."

Your Majesty's Commissioners are of opinion that upon the effect of the Cheap Trains Act of 1883 the Board of Trade should themselves initiate communication with the London Trades Council and other representative bodies of workmen, and should secure to the working classes the full benefit to which they are entitled under the Act of 1883, as to houses as well as in other respects.

STANDING ORDERS.

Your Majesty's Commissioners examined several witnesses as to the working of the Standing Orders of both Houses of Parliament which have reference to the re-housing of persons displaced by railway demolitions. The evidence was unanimous that the Standing Orders were either evaded or insufficient. Without waiting for the presentation of their report to Your Majesty, Your Majesty's Commissioners by special resolution recommended considerable amendments to the House of Lords Standing Orders, and similar amendments in the Standing Orders of the House of Commons, which were adopted by both Houses of Parliament, and are printed in the Appendix to this Report.

In the winter of 1884–5, 39 Bills proposing to take 3,859 houses occupied by the labouring classes to the extent of 17,056 inhabitants in England, outside the metropolis, were before the Local Government Board under the new Standing Order; and 14 Bills proposing to take 1,807 houses, occupied by 14,905 persons of the labouring classes in the metropolis have been deposited in the Home Office.*

As these special recommendations were of a somewhat provisional nature, the matter involved being of great urgency, it is quite possible that the amendments are capable of being made more effective, and that Standing Orders may be further strengthened on some points by legislation. It will therefore be in place to shortly refer to the evidence which was given on the subject of Standing Orders.

Laws, 8388. The city engineer of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who has had experience as a railway engineer, said that he had never known a single person to be re-housed by a railway company after clearances in connexion with railway extension. Sir Edward Watkin, speaking with greater authority, stated that he did not remember any case where a railway company, being under an obligation to re-house, had fulfilled it. Miss Hill corroborated this evidence without qualification, saying that the Standing Orders which were intended to provide for the re-accommodation of the poor are practically a dead letter. She pointed out that even supposing they were satisfactory and did compel the companies to re-accommodate, the companies would only be compelled to re-house the people they actually displaced, and they have a method of evading re-housing provisions by getting rid of the people privately before coming to Parliament. The witness said:—

Watkin, 10,412.

Hill, 8838.

Hill, 8841.

"Usually the railway company communicate with the landlords
"and tell them, 'We are going to take your property'; the
"landlord gives the ordinary weekly or monthly notice to the
"tenants, and long before the railway comes the tenants have
"been got rid of; so that the landlord pockets the compensation,
"and that is what is taking place I am told, and in spite of the
"advice of my fellow workers, in Albert Buildings. In Albert
"Buildings, Lambeth, the tenants are told by the agents of the
"railway company that they will have to move, and that their

* *See* Appendix. Letters from Local Government Board and Home Office.

best plan is to get out soon. This is before the Act is obtained. The companies, therefore, can go before Parliament, and say, 'We do not displace people; there is nobody there.' Therefore it would seem to me as if the clauses, whatever they may be, should deal with the question according to whether houses that were formerly occupied by the labouring classes were displaced, and not whether the particular Act displaces them." The Rev. W. Denton, Vicar of St. Bartholo- Denton, 10,667.
mew, Cripplegate, who for a quarter of a century has exerted himself on behalf of poor people forcibly evicted from their homes by railway companies, says that the Standing Order directing a return of the number of persons to be displaced by railway companies is systematically evaded.

The evidence of official witnesses corroborates the opinions of the two last quoted, who may be said to have appeared in the interest of the labouring classes affected. The Clerk of Public Malkin, 10,742.
Bills in the House of Lords says that it is the general conclusion and testimony of those who are interested in the matter that no good has been done by the provision known as the Shaftesbury Standing Order of 1853. The Assistant Secretary to the Board Calcraft, 10,061.
of Trade is of opinion that what Parliament has done with regard to Standing Orders has not had much effect in providing other accommodation for persons unhoused by railway demolitions, and personally he has never known a case of re-housing under Standing Orders by a company.

From the foregoing it was clear that the Standing Orders required considerable amendment. Evidence was also given to show how they might be made more effective.

The Standing Orders hitherto have thrown the duty of making a return of the number of persons to be displaced by any scheme upon the promoters, and it is often found to be grossly incorrect. It has been suggested that the return should be made to the local authority; that the local authority should examine it and report upon it, and that it should go through the Home Office in cases Denton, 10,732.
from the metropolis, or through the Local Government Board in cases from the provinces, to the Committee of the House of Lords or Commons, with a report upon it by one or other of those offices at the cost of the promoters. It would be necessary in addition to indicate definitely that the report should state the number of houses inhabited by the working classes before the scheme was proposed, because the moment a scheme of this kind Chamberlain, 12,432.
is threatened the people voluntarily depart from their houses (sometimes having been bribed by the promoters) knowing that if they do not go they will be disturbed.

Sir Edward Watkin, who may be considered to speak with Watkin, 10,528.
authority on behalf of the railway companies, says that he does not see any objection at all to the return being made by an independent authority, at the expense of the promoters, so Your Majesty's Commissioners are able to recommend that in the case of railways, and of all other schemes involving the displacement of the working classes, the companies and other promoters ought

in the first place to be compelled to provide suitable accommodation in substitution of that which they are destroying, and that they ought not to escape from this obligation by the payment of money compensation to the tenants on removal.

Hill, 9112. The system of petty compensation was referred to by Miss Hill when she said that railway companies sometimes do not wait till they get their Act of Parliament, but make private arrangements beforehand for the displacement of the population. The general manager of the Great Eastern Railway corroborated this evidence.

Birt, 10,166. He said that his company has never actually rebuilt: their custom had always been to compensate the tenants with sums, varying from 30*s.* to 50*l.*, on the occasion of the pulling down of the houses in question.

Chamberlain, 12,433. Further, it is not sufficient that the law should compel the companies simply to provide substituted accommodation. That this provision would be futile is shown by the cases which occur of railway companies providing accommodation for the unhoused people and subsequently of giving all the tenants notice to quit and turning the accommodation into warehouses or to other purposes. Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that the railway companies, in the case of demolitions of house property, be required both to provide new accommodation for the number of persons previously residing in the houses demolished and be precluded from using the dwellings so substituted for any other purpose without the consent of the local authority.

Watkin, 10,425. In making this recommendation they feel that they cannot do better than put on record the statement in evidence of Sir Edward Watkin on the subject. He said "I do not consider that there is "any injustice in saying to people who control a private enter- "prise, and who remove houses of the labouring classes in the "construction of their works, that they shall before they commence "their works erect an equivalent amount of accommodation," and with reference to a particular case of demolition in consequence of railway operations, he said "What I have proposed is "that we shall estimate how many houses will be taken away if "the works are made, and that we shall begin to erect dwellings "without any delay according to the number of rooms which we "destroy; that is to say, before anybody is dispossessed the new "buildings shall be provided for them." Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend as far as possible the universal application of the principle here enunciated.

DISPLACEMENT TO BE GRADUAL.

Boodle, 905.

Shaftesbury, 123.

Compton, 716. Your Majesty's Commissioners had evidence from many witnesses of the great evils which ensue from the sudden clearances, on a large scale, of dwellings of the labouring classes. These wholesale demolitions produce not only the temporary misery already quoted from Lord Shaftesbury's evidence where he described the condition of the poor people whose roofs were being pulled off as being like that of people in a besieged town, but they are the cause of the migrations of the dispersed population to increase the overcrowding and general misery of the streets in the neighbourhood.

The case of Lincoln's Inn was cited, where a plan of gradual demolition and rebuilding the barristers' chambers has gone on without much inconvenience to the occupants, who would have suffered the gravest inconvenience had great blocks of buildings been pulled down at once. The Glasgow improvements were also mentioned, where the rule was that not more than 500 people should be displaced at a time, and that those 500 should not be disturbed until adequate provision had been made for them in the neighbourhood. Boodle, 868. Shaftesbury, 122.

Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that it should be made compulsory for displacement and re-building to be as nearly as possible simultaneous. They are not of opinion that the details could be laid down in an Act of Parliament. For instance, in the case of a scheme of metropolitan improvement or a scheme under Sir Richard Cross's Act, it would not be practicable to enact that the whole area should under no circumstances be cleared at once, but that a portion only should be cleared, as it might seriously prejudice the success of a scheme if the new roads or streets required were not allowed to be carried out in the first instance. Your Majesty's Commissioners are of opinion that the policy and principle of their recommendation should be laid down by statute, and that the details must be left to the local authority. Chamberlain, 12,435. Waterlow, 11,922.

It has been contended, in connexion with demolitions and overcrowding, that model dwellings, erected by the Peabody trustees and other bodies, while they have been of great benefit to the community generally, have tended to aggravate the evil by addition of the homes of the very poor. It was shown that when bad property was pulled down for the erection of model dwellings the displaced population crowded into the neighbouring streets already densely packed, and when the new buildings were complete did not return to the localities formerly occupied by them. The evidence that was given on this point corroborates the feeling which has long existed that the model dwellings do not reach the class whose need is the greatest. Lord Shaftesbury gave it as his opinion that industrial dwellings have not relieved the class for whose benefit they were intended. That they are occupied by a better class than the class displaced, that they do not meet the requirements of the very poor, that the rents are too high, that persons with large families, and persons following certain callings, such as costermongers, are not admitted, are only a few of the complaints that have been made in evidence with regard to them. The feeling which has thus found expression is no new thing, and the Peabody trustees, being aware that it existed with reference to their property, made a statement somewhat of the nature of an apology in their report of 1881. They met the objections that the benefits of the fund were enjoyed by a class for which the founder did not intend them by producing Mr. Peabody's written testimony of approval of the manner in which his gift had been applied, and they asserted that the trustees have, since his death, continued to act according MODEL DWELLINGS. Shaftesbury, 69. Horsley, 2275. Billing, 5000. Cobden, 4741. Lampson, 11,536.

to the system approved by him. Mr. Peabody clearly defined the kind of persons to be benefited by his donation, and the trustees have carried out the principle that tenants should be of the working class, and have taken pains to admit into the buildings people with a maximum limit of wages of 30*s.* a week. Without needless repetition of the evidence given on behalf of the Peabody Trust before Sir R. Cross's Committee in 1881, Sir Curtis Lampson, who, until his lamented death this year, practically managed the fund single handed, gave some instructive information which showed why the Peabody Buildings have not directly benefited the poorest classes whose condition has been described in the earlier portion of this Report. His answer to the query whether those buildings have to any extent housed the actual people who were dispossessed by the pulling down of their dwellings contains the substance of all the allegations of other witnesses who spoke on the point. He said, in reply, "Very few of the same people, "in the first place, while the buildings are being put up, the "dispossessed people find places elsewhere, and most of them are "housed somewhere else; and in the next place, a great many of "the people who formerly lived in these buildings that were "pulled down would not be suitable tenants for the Peabody "Buildings."

Lampson, 11,596–623, &c.

11,574.

11,575.

The limit of wages of the Peabody tenants from 30*s.* per week downwards, appears at first sight to be one which would meet the most pressing cases, especially when statistics are given to show that a not inconsiderable proportion of the "heads of families" inhabiting the tenements earn less than 20*s.* a week, some of them earning no more than 15*s.* or even 12*s.* a week. This, taken with the list of trades followed by the occupants of the buildings, would show that the tenants are representative of the industrious masses where life is a perpetual struggle. For all that, there is however undoubted testimony that the buildings have not reached the poorest of the labouring classes. The lowest rent for which a single room is let is 2*s.* 1¼*d.* It is evident, therefore, that persons whose entire earnings are from 12*s.* to 14*s.* a week could not afford to have more than one room at this rent. Yet overcrowding is said not to be permitted in the Peabody Buildings. The explanation is that the calculation of the earnings of "heads of families" is a fallacious test. The woman is very often the bread-winner for the family; and to take no account, for instance, of the earnings of a charwoman in regular employ, simply because she has a husband in receipt of small wages, is very misleading. It is acknowledged that it is difficult to keep to the 30*s.* a week limit in the case of persons whose wages increase during their tenancy, as it is hard to turn a man out simply because of the result of his sobriety and industry.

11,537.

Lampson, 11,675.

11,540. 11,547.

11,541.

The demand for the buildings considerably exceeds the supply; for 200 dwellings there have been lately as many as 500 or 600 applicants. The rush for them shows how excellent they are and how the working classes appreciate them, but as not one half of those who apply for them can be accommodated, it follows that

Lampson, 11,655.

system of selection must be followed, and it would be strange if ie most orderly and respectable were rejected. There is no injustice in this, but the fact remains that if the dwellers in the ost wretched quarters, often the very persons who have been nhoused to make room for the new buildings, should attempt to nd homes in the new buildings their chances are small against ie respectable artizans to whom preference is given. The social nd moral effects on the inhabitants residing in these model ommunities is no doubt excellent. "They feel very proud of these dwellings, and if a man has come out of a Peabody Building it is more or less a character for him," and this of ourse is a reason why there is no anxiety to provide accommoation for costermongers or to admit persons of the class who are little disinclined to observe rules. Since evidence on the subject as given before Sir Richard Cross's Committee a certain amount accommodation has been provided for the barrows and donkeys costermongers, but somehow they have not come in. It would not possible within the limits of this Report to quote, to combat, or to pport the views which were put forth on the general question blocks of model buildings by witnesses whose opinions are orthy of the highest respect. The difficulty of adequate water pply has been mentioned for example. There has been evidence favour of a separate supply for each tenement; other witnesses ve thought that one for each floor was sufficient. Again, some itnesses have condemned the system of large blocks of workmen's ellings entirely; it has been said that they will be the fever sts of the future, or that development of the system will involve e provision of comfortable accommodation for the criminal and moral classes. It is further the opinion of many that the work- g classes will never look upon a set of rooms in a great building the light of a home, while others think that their objection and ejudice to model dwellings are entirely disappearing.

Lampson, 11,546.

Lampson, 11,652.

Hill, 8852.

Shaftesbury, 4.

Davies, 6922.
Boodle, 848.
Price, 7420.
Hill, 9019.

Such are the great diversities of opinion on this branch of the bject which have been elicited by Your Majesty's Commissioners the course of their investigations, and on such points they are able to make practical suggestions in more definite shape than s been given to them in the evidence which accompanies this port. Some suggestions, however, which they have already de in general terms would affect the provision of workmen's ellings. Your Majesty's Commissioners have recommended t power should be given to limited owners and corporations to ply trust funds on terms other than the best that can be obtained en the object is the provision of dwellings for the working sses. This principle, it appears from evidence, if carried out, uld greatly assist the extension of the system of model dwellgs for the accommodation of a class which is now rarely reached them. It has been seen how the rents of the tenements in model ellings are an obstacle to their occupation by the poorest class; l the opinion expressed by a witness that the building comnies might reach the poorest classes if they could be satisfied th a less dividend is not one on which Your Majesty's Commisners would base a suggestion. The force of their recommenda-

Billing, 5069.

Boodle, 1097.

Clutton, 6612. tion, referred to above, would, however, be felt in cases where the difficulty of providing the dwellings is due to the cost of the land, or to the ground rent. The agent for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' property said that the first difficulty in providing blocks of buildings for artizans' dwellings was the procuring of sites, but if sites could be provided the buildings could not, in some cases, be put up by private enterprise on account of the amount of the ground rents. The agent to the Northampton and Westminster properties referred to the Gatliff Buildings on the latter estate. The principle adopted in the case of these dwellings was that the ground landlord let the land at the lowest possible ground rent, and lent the money for the building at 3 per cent. on the security of the lease on the condition that the
Boodle, 934. buildings should be for the use of the very poor. Your Majesty's Commissioners do not assert that the rents quoted for the Gatliff Buildings are at a rate which would put the dwellings within the reach of the most necessitous class. They have only cited the instance in support of their previous recommendation that powers should be universally given to limited owners and corporations to apply trust funds in such cases on other than the best terms. The recommendations in favour of a lower rate of interest on Public Loans, and in favour of housing by railway companies; that in favour of the simplification and extension of Lord Shaftesbury's Act, the proposal for the removal of prisons, the recommendations also with regard to legal expenses, to compensation, and others, would all tend to increase the number of such buildings and thus to lower rents.

FURTHER GENERAL SANITARY RECOMMENDATIONS.

ABATEMENT OF NUISANCES.

The provisions as to nuisances in the Sanitary Acts and the Public Health Act, 1875, have in view the abatement of the nuisance rather than the punishment of the person by whose default the nuisance has arisen. For instance, when a nuisance has been ascertained to exist, and the person by whose default it has arisen, has on notice by the sanitary authority caused it to be abated, the Act does not contemplate that proceedings should be taken unless the sanitary authority are of opinion that the nuisance is likely to recur; in such a case the person who is responsible for the nuisance incurs no liability by his neglect. It would be desirable that the existence of a nuisance, although it may be remedied after notice by the sanitary authority, should render the person responsible for it liable to a penalty. Under the Act in force in the metropolis there is no provision for the justices imposing a penalty when they make an order for the abatement of a nuisance or an order prohibiting the recurrence of a nuisance. Under the Public Health Act, 1875, which is in force outside the metropolis, there is such a provision; the court may impose a penalty not exceeding 5*l.* on the person upon whom the order is made. Your Majesty's Commissioners recommend that this provision should be made applicable to the metropolis, and that the maximum penalty might also with advantage be increased.

RESPONSIBILITY OF OWNERS.

In the opinion of Your Majesty's Commissioners there should also be a simple power by civil procedure for the recovery of damages against owners or holders of property by those who have

ffered injury or loss by their neglect or default in sanitary atters.

Evidence has been given showing that the inadequacy of the ter supply in the poorer quarters of the metropolis and the eat towns is the cause of much unhealthiness and misery in e dwellings of the working classes, and Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that the water supply should, as a neral rule, be in the hands of the local authority. WATER SUPPLY.

The law as to the power of water companies to cut off the ter supply has already been cited in this Report, and Your jesty's Commissioners recognising the grave consequences which y result from the misuse of this power, recommend that the npanies should be deprived of the summary power which they v possess. CLOSET ACCOMMODATION. Compton, 666. Jennings, 2913.

Much evidence was given before Your Majesty's Commissioners, ne of which has been quoted in this Report, of the insufficient vision of watercloset and privies both in town and country, l considering the evil effects, both moral and sanitary, of this iciency, Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that, n in the case of old houses, the duties should be thrown on ners of erecting them where they do not exist. It might, vever, be necessary to provide for the relaxation of the law in tain cases. Laws, 8415. Dyke, 13,017. Farrie, 13,461 Selby, 14,263. Simmons, 14,669.

Your Majesty's Commissioners also recommend that it shall be lared by statute to be the duty of the local authority to put in e such powers as they are by law entrusted with, so as to ensure no premises shall be allowed to exist in an unsanitary state. GENERAL RECOMMENDATION.

The subject of what has been called the Van Population was mentioned in conjunction with the facts connected with the ellings of the poor in towns, as the condition of these people is such a peculiar nature that it calls for separate treatment. In ous parts of the country there are plots of ground which are upied by persons who inhabit moveable dwellings, either vans ents. They are of the gipsy, or so-called gipsy, class, and ground upon which they settle is generally vacant ground in ate hands, and they establish themselves upon it in some cases , and in some cases without, the consent of the owner. Some ers not only consent to but charge a weekly rent for the pation of the ground. The chief of these encampments is Woodford, where the inhabitants were formerly squatters in ing Forest, and had been driven out. There are also van s in the neighbourhood of Wormwood Scrubs, at Battersea, other places. These settlements are the head-quarters of the population; in the summer it decreases on these spots, when t vans perambulate the country, but there always remains the eus of a fixed population, and some of the vans are no longer cable, having lost their wheels. VAN TOWNS. Johnston, 13,997. Smith, 14,029. Johnston, 14,018.

The inhabitants of vans, even if they never move at all, are held to be the inhabitants of a house. It was stated in ence that there was a magisterial decision which was upheld Johnston, 14,002.

by the High Court, to the effect that a broken down van was not a house. They are, therefore, subject to no sanitary regulations whatever.

The Woodford Local Board compelled the settlement in that district to have a supply of water; but they did this in uncertainty of its being a legal proceeding, and they have not, of course, been able to apply their own byelaws and the general laws which have reference to substantial buildings. As a rule there is no provision of closet accommodation or sanitary conveniences of any kind, and a committee of the Essex Court of Quarter Sessions reported that the general condition in which these people live is calculated to breed pestilence. An attempt was made to remedy these evils by the introduction of a clause in the Canal Boats Act of last session, to the effect that under that enactment the term boat should include a cart; but such difficulty was found in making a provision as to vans fit into the framework of the Bill, that the Canal Boats Committee of the House of Commons decided against the proposal. The condition of these people, however, calls for action on sanitary grounds. Cases of typhoid fever and small-pox are frequently occurring among them, vaccination owing to their migratory habits is unknown, and as the van towns are generally close to public footpaths there is special danger from contagious diseases. They live in a condition of overcrowding of the worst character, the whole family sleeping in one tent or van, the only exception being when some of them are put under the van to sleep. Your Majesty's Commissioners recommend that the local authorities should be given jurisdiction over them by means of the extension of their powers by statute to all habitations, and that the powers given in section 23 of the Public Health Act should be extended to any hut or tent, and to any cart used for sleeping which remains for more than two nights within 200 hundred yards of the same spot. It is not intended by these suggestions to interfere with encampments of Your Majesty's Forces under proper military supervision, and it may be gathered from the foregoing that it is not proposed to interfere with the habits of the nomadic gipsy population. The recommendations of Your Majesty's Commissioners are made for the benefit of the neighbourhoods in which van towns are located, as well as in the interest of the settlers themselves.

Johnston, 14,002.

Smith, 14,040.

Martin, 13,992.

HOP PICKERS.

There is another section of the population, who cannot be classed as either urban or rural, whose housing requires consideration. These are the hop-pickers and the fruit-pickers, who annually settle in Kent and in one district of Surrey for about three weeks during the autumn for the harvest of the hop grounds, and in the fruit-picking season for shorter periods. It is calculated that in an average year there are at least 70,000 persons, men, women, and children, employed in this labour, of whom the great majority are immigrants, and of whom about 25,000 come from London. The latter are, for the most part, the roughest and neediest of the London poor; they are drawn from no one quarter of the metropolis, as may be seen from a list of localities from which they come, supplied by the Rev. J. Y. Stratton,

Stratton, 15,676.

Stratton, 15,646.

Stratton, 15,643.

Stratton, 15,763.

ecretary of the Society for the Conveyance and Improved Lodging f Hop-pickers, but from all the poorest districts investigated by our Majesty's Commissioners.

In 1867 the Society drew up some "Recommendations relating the Lodgings of Hop-pickers." In 1875 the Public Health et (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55.) provided in section 314 that "any local authority may, if they think fit, make byelaws for securing the decent lodging and accommodation of persons engaged in hop-picking within the district of such authority." The same ear the Local Government Board circulated among all the anitary authorities of districts visited by persons for the purpose picking hops, model byelaws under this Act, framed on the ecommendations of the Society mentioned above. The present ondition of the housing of the hop-pickers shows that the pplication of the Act has not been completely successful in estroying the evils which called forth the efforts of the society. ir. Stratton stated that the Act had failed because it was only rmissive. The powers given in the Act to the local authorities make or to refuse to make byelaws at their discretion being ntrusted to authorities which contained many hop-growers among eir members, the whole question has in some districts been eglected or shelved. Byelaws have been adopted by 13 rural thorities, but only two or three of them are vigilant and careful, ost of them merely sending a notice at the beginning of the pp-picking as to their requirements, and failing to carry out any stem of inspection. Stratton, 15,651. Stratton, 15,652. Stratton, 15,655.

The lodgings provided for these immigrants are principally pper-houses, barns, cowsheds, stables, and tents. The hopper ouse is generally a long, low, brick and tile building, divided to 10 or 12 compartments, and accommodating from eight to a zen persons in each compartment. Sometimes cooking sheds e provided, which are necessary for the people, not only for oking their food, but for drying their clothes. Tents, which are rchased second-hand from Government, are often used; as they e usually supplied without cooking sheds, the condition of the omen and children, who rarely have a change of clothes, is in wet ather most pitiable. Overcrowding is frequent unless great pervision is exercised, and there is great difficulty in separating e sexes, and the married people from the single. Altogether, e description given of the condition of the hop-pickers shows at on both moral and sanitary grounds regulations should be iversally enforced. Several of the sanitary authorities have opted byelaws which omit to provide cooking houses, screens tween the beds, or privies, and the Local Government Board ve been compelled to give a reluctant consent to such defective gulations as being better than none at all. Your Majesty's mmissioners would therefore recommend that section 314 of the blic Health Act shall be so amended that provisions equivalent those contained in the Model Byelaws of the Local Government ard shall be applied in all districts of sanitary authorities largely ited by persons engaged in picking hops, and that provision Stratton, 15,674. Stratton, 15,675. Stratton, 15,690.

shall also be made for the efficient inspection of the lodgings of hop-pickers and fruit-pickers by the sanitary authorities.

It is now the intention of Your Majesty's Commissioners to turn their attention to the special features of the question set before them for investigation which are to be found in Scotland and in Ireland, but they think it right to present to Your Majesty at once the foregoing portions of their Report. Some of Your Majesty's Commissioners sign this first Report subject to observations of their own which are appended to it.

All which Your Majesty's Commissioners humbly submit to Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

ALBERT EDWARD P.
HENRY EDWARD CARD. MANNING.
SALISBURY (subject to observations appended to Report).
BROWNLOW.
CARRINGTON.
GEORGE J. GOSCHEN (subject to observations appended to Report).
RICHD. ASSHETON CROSS (subject to observations appended to Report).
GEORGE HARRISON, Lord Provost.
WM. WALSHAM BEDFORD.
E. LYULPH STANLEY.
E. DWYER GRAY.
W. M. TORRENS.
HENRY BROADHURST.
JESSE COLLINGS.
GEO. GODWIN.
S. MORLEY.

CHARLES W. DILKE,
Chairman.

J. E. C. BODLEY,
Secretary.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT.

LEASE-HOLDERS' ENFRANCHISE-MENT.

The system of building on leasehold land is a great cause of the many evils connected with overcrowding, unsanitary building, and excessive rents. This appears to be conclusively proved by the evidence of Lord William Compton, Mr. Boodle, the agent of the Marquis of Northampton, Mr. Vivian, of Camborne, and by the incidental evidence of other witnesses. The evidence of the two former witnesses contains a strong condemnation of the whole system of building on leasehold tenure.

Those of Your Majesty's Commissioners whose signatures are appended to this supplementary report are of opinion that the prevailing system of building leases is conducive to bad building, to deterioration of property towards the close of the lease, and to a want of interest on the part of the occupier in the house he

inhabits; and that legislation favourable to the acquisition on equitable terms of the freehold interest on the part of the leaseholder would conduce greatly to the improvement of the dwellings of the people of this country.

HENRY EDWARD CARD. MANNING.
CARRINGTON.
GEORGE HARRISON, Lord Provost.
E. LYULPH STANLEY.
E. DWYER GRAY.
W. M. TORRENS.
HENRY BROADHURST.
JESSE COLLINGS.
GEORGE GODWIN.
S. MORLEY.

MEMORANDUM BY THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

The observations which I wish to make upon one or two passages in the Report are designed rather in elucidation of language which seems to me to be too vague, than as an expression of dissent. Especially I should have preferred fuller and more definite recommendations in regard to one point of capital importance—the overcrowding in the interior of London. This evil stands by itself; it offers peculiar difficulties, and requires special remedies. Sanitary mischief arising from structural defects is in the first instance the affair of the owner. What is wanted of the law is that it should enforce the duties of the owner, and if need be, give him the power required for performing them. The local authority under whose supervision the owner is, may, in some places, require quickening, and the remedies provided by the Acts of Sir R. Cross and Mr. Torrens for evils with which individual owners cannot grapple, may require perfecting in some points. But as to these sanitary evils nothing is really wanted beyond this, that the law shall do in effect what, as matters now stands, it professes to do.

Again, the overcrowding, so far as it exists, in provincial towns, or in the suburban parts of London, may probably be cured by the ordinary sequence of supply upon demand. The cost of building does not appear to be necessarily in excess of the rent which the working classes can pay, so long as the site can be had without excessive cost. But in the more central parts of London the problem will not solve itself in this manner. The cost of ground is very large. The Peabody Trustees only obtained the sites of their most recent buildings on terms which were artificially cheapened by the expenditure of the Metropolitan Board of Works: and even with that assistance they have not been able to meet the wants of the majority of the working class. The average wages of the Peabody tenant are considerably above the level to which a large body of the working class attain.

The condition which practically distinguishes the interior of London from all other areas in the kingdom is that sites for houses within reach of their work are too costly to be available to the mass of the working class. The distances are so great as to prevent a workman who has work in the interior of London living in the suburbs where lodging is cheap.

It so happens that Government are likely to have a considerable area of ground at their disposal—the sites of those prisons (belonging to the State) mentioned in the Report. If sold at the highest market price they would no doubt be very valuable; but they would be of no use whatever towards the solution of this special difficulty. On the other hand, if they are sold at cost price to some authority or trust that will build workmen's dwellings upon them, or upon other similar sites obtained by exchange for portions of them, the result will be so far to satisfy the special want under which, on account of its peculiar circumstances, the interior of London labours.

The price of land (within ordinary limits) and the cost of building, have been defrayed elsewhere, and could no doubt be defrayed here, by rent which the labourer is in a condition to pay. The extraordinary price of land constitutes the most formidable difficulty; and by this arrangement the difficulty would be met. But then the State must be content to forego the largely increased price which it might, if it liked, obtain for the sites of these prisons.

It may be objected that such a sacrifice would constitute an eleemosynary expenditure. If the description were accurate the objection would be a serious one. If the State were to provide cottages at a rent which did not represent the real cost of their erection it would destroy the market of the speculative builders, and its liberality would only have the effect of driving everyone else out of a field of enterprise which it would itself be incapable of entirely occupying.

But it seems to me that to call the proposed operation eleemosynary is straining the meaning of the word. It is the surrender of an increase which has become unexpectedly disposable,—an increase which is caused by that very concentration of population which it is to be applied to remedy. But this excessive concentration on this particular area is in more than one respect the State's own work. If the size of London is excessive, the excess is largely due to the circumstance that London is the residence of the Government. If vast masses of the population are forced to live near the centre of the town and find no room for their dwellings, it must be remembered that the State has largely contributed both to swell the population and to diminish the house room. The number of persons who are in the public service as soldiers, policemen, postmen, and employés in the lower grades of the public offices, constitute a notable portion of the crowds who compete for houseroom. The forcible destruction of dwellings authorised by Parliament during the last half century, for purposes of public ornament or utility, has largely contributed to diminish the aggregate of the houseroom for which these crowds have to com-

pete. A proposal to remedy overcrowding, for which the State is largely responsible, by utilising a gain on enhanced value of land which is due to density of population, can hardly be called eleemosynary. It more closely resembles the provision of compensation than the offer of a gift.

It would of course be needful to dispose of the land to bodies who could be trusted to use it for the purpose of building the cheapest class of dwellings. It seems probable from the evidence we have received, that healthy and decent dwellings might be provided without loss, at a rate cheaper than the average which obtains under the Peabody Trust.

There are some other recommendations which I desire to notice. The proposal to give a wider extension and readier application to Lord Shaftesbury's Act, is couched in language which leaves it open to two interpretations. It may be only contemplated that power shall be given to the local authority to build cottages out of the rates, in peculiar cases, where it can be done without loss, and where some exceptional obstacle has arrested the action of private enterprise. In such cases the intervention of the local authority is fairly admissible. But the language of the report may also be thought to cover a scheme for a general provision of cottages with half acres of land attached, at the cost of the ratepayers. To such a proposal I think strong exception must be taken. There are very grave objections to the provision of cottages at the cost of public taxation. But even if those objections could be overcome, the taxes from which the outlay is drawn should be of a kind which all sorts of property join in paying. There is no sort of ground for charging such an expenditure on the occupiers of land and houses only. Incomes of all kinds, whether they come from consols or foreign stocks, from debentures, ground rents, or mortgages, ought equally to bear such a burden, if it is to be borne by property at all.

A recommendation is made in the report that vacant land in towns or in the neighbourhood of towns should be rated on its capital instead of its income value. This paragraph was introduced into the report just before it was signed, and I cannot find that it is based on any evidence laid before the Commission. I believe that the evil results of such a change would outweigh its advantages. There may, possibly, be something to be said for a general recourse to the American system of taxing capital instead of income values ; but to adopt it in the isolated case of vacant land in or about towns would not only lead to much evasion but would have injurious sanitary effect. It would operate as a penalty on all open spaces except those belonging to a public authority. Urban or suburban gardens would especially suffer. On the other hand, when any pecuniary advantage was to be gained by keeping the land vacant, its capital value could be easily reduced by collusive alienations of portions of it. By a colourable sale of the outside edge, the capital value of an interior block could be, for the time, to a great extent destroyed.

I understand that it is proposed by a portion of the Commission to report in favour of a measure for enabling the holder of a long

lease to force the freeholder to sell his freehold to him at an arbitration price. This measure, which is objectionable and wholly novel in principle, appears to me to have little to do with the housing of the poor. It has not been shown in evidence that any considerable number of the working classes, especially in overcrowded localities, hold their tenements on long leases. As far as this class of house is concerned, such a measure would have no other effect than to put the house farmer in the position now occupied by the ground landlord. On the other hand, such a proposal would entirely arrest the grant of building leases: and the supply of new houses for the working classes in suburban districts would be very materially checked.

SALISBURY.

I agree with so much of the above memorandum as refers to the mode of dealing with the sites of prisons to be relinquished.

WM. WALSHAM BEDFORD.

MEMORANDUM BY THE RIGHT HON. G. J. GOSCHEN, M.P., AND THE HON. E. L. STANLEY, M.P.

We have signed the above Report, agreeing generally with its statements and recommendations, but on several important points we cannot concur with the views which it expresses, and there are also some considerations to which we do not think sufficient prominence has been given.

The Commission had to consider and suggest remedies for—

I.—The condition of *existing* house accommodation for the working classes.

II.—The *deficiency* in the amount of such accommodation.

I.—Reservations on recommendations for improving *existing* house accommodation.

1. We are generally in accord with the recommendations of the Report as to the provisions necessary to ensure greater rigour in the observance of the laws relating to the maintenance of houses in a proper sanitary condition; but we wish to record our opinion that no real progress in this respect can be expected in London until reforms in the local government of London have created a strong central municipal authority of a genuinely representative character. In this respect we hold that the language of the Report does not go far enough.

After calling attention to the fact that "all that was necessary "to be done to place the local authorities in the metropolis in a "position to make byelaws (under section 35 of the Sanitary Act "of 1866) has been done," the Report goes on to recommend that "the vestries and district boards, which have not already made "and enforced byelaws, should proceed to do so, although it is not

" likely that in all such cases action will be taken until the people " show a more lively interest in the management of their local " affairs. It is probable that other means might be found for " enabling them to give greater effect to their views through " their local representatives." We have no hope that any further advice or the inclusion of this recommendation in the Report will produce any greater effect than the pressure of public opinion has already produced on the local authorities.

So, too, as regards inspection. In cases where the adequacy of the number of inspectors employed in any district and their fitness for their work may come into question, we think that the recommendation of the Report, that " advice should be given to " the metropolitan sanitary authorities to increase, in some cases, " their staff of inspectors," is likely to remain almost a dead letter. As regards the appointment of competent men, we concur with the reluctance of our colleagues to recommend " so central- " ising a measure as the appointment of such inspectors by the " Local Government Board." But it is evident that until the whole of London is governed by authorities thoroughly interested in the vigorous enforcement of the sanitary laws, advice in the future is likely to be as barren of results as in the past.

It is true that the Report states that " the remedies which " legislation has provided for existing evils have been imperfectly " applied in the metropolis, and that this failure has been due to the " negligence, in many cases, of the existing local authorities," and again, that " it does not appear that more satisfactory action on " their part can be secured without reforms in the local adminis- " tration of London." But, in view of this judgment on the existing state of things, it seems to us that the foregoing recommendations are almost illusory.

2. The want of a government of London commanding public confidence, and fit to be entrusted with the performance of a duty properly pertaining to local government has led to the introduction into the Report of a suggested palliative, with which we do not concur. The failure being " in administration," the remark is made that " what at the present time is specially required is motive " power, and probably there is no stronger motive power than " public opinion. With the view, therefore, of bringing specially " under public attention the sanitary condition of the different " districts in the metropolis, it is recommended that the Secretary " of State should be empowered to appoint competent persons to " inquire as to the immediate sanitary requirements of each district, " having regard to the several powers entrusted to the local " authority, whether the Metropolitan Board of Works, or the " vestry or district board ; that the local authority should be " empowered to nominate members of their own body to act with " the officers so appointed, and that the reports of the results of " such inquiries should be transmitted to the local authorities, and " also should be laid before Parliament."

We should prefer to see this proposed survey of the whole of London, if made at all, undertaken on the responsibility of the

new London government, to which the execution of the action which may have to follow such a survey, will certainly have to be left. We doubt whether the proposed combination of officers appointed by the State and others appointed by the local authorities would work smoothly, and it is a question on whom the great expense of the survey should fall. Is the cost to be borne by the taxpayers of the country or by the ratepayers of London? and if by the latter, would it not be just that the responsibility should fall on their representatives in a reformed London government?

And it will be observed that the proposal is not that either the State or the local authorities should be in any way bound to take action on the reports. They are simply to be laid before Parliament to "stimulate public opinion."

As the determining authority in the joint commission of Survey would certainly be the officers appointed by the State, while the cost of the building operations which they might recommend would in no way affect the State, the magnitude of the funds necessary to carry out such operations would not necessarily be present to the minds of the framers of the scheme. The new government of London might thus, on entering upon its functions, find itself face to face with a vast scheme of building and sanitation, placed before the public with the sanction of the State, in the production of which it would have had no voice, but for the execution of which it would be held responsible.

3. The more rigid enforcement of sanitary laws must clearly rest in the long run with the local authorities. But the Commission has also had to consider how far an improvement in the existing state of things could be attained by increasing the liability of owners. With the two recommendations made in this respect in the Report we entirely concur, namely, (1) the extension to the metropolis of a provision in the Public Health Act, 1875, authorising the justices to impose a penalty when an order is made for the abatement of a nuisance, and (2) the recommendation that there should be a simple power by civil procedure for the recovery of damages against owners or holders of property by those who have suffered injury or loss by their neglect or default in sanitary matters.

But the extremely important subject of the responsibility of owners for the state of their property scarcely appears to have been adequately discussed, though some evidence was given as to the degree of power of the interference reserved to landlords by their leases. The feeling seems to be prevalent that owners have been remiss in the exercise of such powers as they possessed, and that they should be looked to and held responsible for a more effectual exercise of these powers. But a closer examination of the case reveals considerable difficulty in securing this legitimate aim. If, for instance, landlords should be held strictly responsible for any neglect as to keeping their property in a fit state of repair, it would be only just to give them power of re-entry where the lessees, having failed in their duty to carry out the clauses of a lease as to repairs, could not otherwise be effectually reached.

But, on the other hand, to give such power places a weapon in the hands of landlords, the employment of which would be scrutinized with the greatest jealousy. Towards the close of a lease it is the interest of the tenant to expend as little as possible upon repairs. The landlord, who may be anxious to re-enter before the expiration of the lease, might, under colour of exacting the strict performance of sanitary duties, place such pressure on the tenant as to compel him to throw up the lease at once. The Legislature has been so anxious to guard against the danger that the non-fulfilment of the conditions of a lease should be made a pretext for forfeiture that in an Act passed in the year 1881 provisions were inserted specially intended to prevent such a result. It would be proceeding in an exactly opposite direction to place fresh powers in the hands of landlords, even with the object of giving them greater hold over tenants for sanitary purposes. That the law should secure the co-operation of landlords to prevent such scandalous abuses on the part of middlemen, as are revealed in many portions of the evidence, is an object to be steadily kept in view. But unless Parliament is prepared to open the door to another class of abuses, it may be very difficult to give the landlords such a degree of power, as well as responsibility, as would make them really useful auxiliaries to the sanitary authorities in the enforcement of the law.

II.—Reservations or recommendations for promoting *increased* house accommodation.

4. With regard to stimulating an increase of house accommodation for the working classes the Report makes recommendations intended to secure—

1. Greater facility of obtaining sites at a reasonable cost (*a*) by improvements in the law as to compensation and valuation; (*b*) by granting compulsory powers of purchase in certain cases where they do not now exist; (*c*) by enacting that, in view of owners of large properties being often restricted by settlements from letting land on long leases on any but the best terms obtainable, powers enabling them to be let on such terms as are calculated to promote the erection of dwellings for the working classes should be read into all future settlements; (*d*) by the reduction of the expenses of transfer.
2. The attraction of more capital at a cheaper rate by allowing trust funds to be devoted to the purpose of erecting such dwellings on other than the best terms; and further, by a diminution in the rate of interest to be charged on loans by the State. It is also proposed, by giving increased facilities to the working classes for the acquisition of their tenements through an extension of the Chambers and Offices Act of 1881, and by allowing capital to be repaid by rent, to attract a portion of the savings of the working classes to this kind of investment.

With all these recommendations we concur (subject to the reservation, that the proposed application of trust funds on other than

the best terms to the erection of working-classes dwellings should be limited to cases, where the Trustees, holding such funds, being land-owners or house-owners, may be regarded as having some responsibility with regard to such dwellings). But if, as we believe the truth to be, it is in the main on private enterprise, aided by such provisions as have been stated for obtaining cheaper and additional capital, and for the acquisition of cheaper sites, that the public must rely for the supply of houses for all classes, then we are strongly of opinion that it is impossible to turn at the same time to the local authorities for the provision of the same article. If large powers for building houses for the working classes are to be given to such authorities, and if public opinion is to be set in motion to induce them to use these powers vigorously, it is clear that the action of private builders and private companies will be proportionately discouraged. How can it be expected that capital will flow into the building trade if the builders know that they may expect at any moment to be exposed to the competition of municipal building on a large scale? For instance, are they likely to push the erection of large blocks of tenements if, in order to reduce their rents, the municipality take action largely under the powers which the proposal to make Lord Shaftesbury's Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act, 1851, more effective, would confer on them?

Municipal action should, as a rule, be limited to cases where the municipality is itself making a sudden disturbance in the accommodation of the working classes by clearing large areas in the making of new streets or other similar improvements. Where a sudden and compulsory displacement takes place on a large scale, the persons who seek extraordinary powers, through which they cause this displacement, may be called upon to do something to mitigate a special hardship. Even here we consider it better that public action should, as a rule, be limited to the finding of sites for dwellings for the working classes, the erection of which dwellings should be the work of private enterprise rather than of a municipality becoming itself a builder or owner of houses.

But it is one thing to give the local authority power to build under such exceptional circumstances, or under Cross's and Torrens's Acts, on limited areas, and another to give general and unlimited powers for the erection of houses for the poor. It is proposed in the Report that Lord Shaftesbury's Act should be made metropolitan instead of parochial. This means that the central municipal authority is to have powers for erecting working-class dwellings in all parts of the metropolis. Is it to be a *duty* on the part of this authority to put the Act in force, and, if so, in all parts of the town where such additional accommodation is needed, or only in some? And if the cost is to be charged on the whole metropolis, would not the duty have to be performed everywhere where necessary, a process so difficult and involving such vast expenditure that it is not likely to be undertaken at all?

We are disposed to think that as the existing Act, with its parochial limitations, has remained a dead letter since 1851, so, if it were applied to the metropolis as a whole, it would similarly

disappoint expectation. But if that be so, would it be wise, by such legislation, to excite hopes on the part of the working classes unlikely to be fulfilled, while creating apprehensions on the part of the builders which might seriously check private enterprise directed to the supply of houses?

We think the Report has not given sufficient prominence to the great difficulty in combining the two systems of municipal and private enterprise in the matter of building, and, unless it be desired to attempt a systematic erection of dwellings for the working classes all over London—an attempt open to insuperable objections and difficulties—we see much danger in creating any belief in the probability of substantial municipal action in this direction. Of all the considerations involved in the problem submitted to the Commission, the question whether we are to look for the future supply of buildings for the working classes to private enterprise, or are to invoke the action of public authorities, seems to us the most important. The policy of the Legislature must clearly be determined by the answer to this question.

5. Similar considerations arise on the recommendation of the Report, that the State, in fixing the price at which the sites of certain prisons are to be sold to the Metropolitan Board of Works, should have regard to the purposes for which they are to be used. The conveyance of these sites at a price below their market value would clearly amount to a subsidy from the State towards the local object of assisting the housing of the poor in London. But if the State should consider it its duty to make a contribution towards such an object in one locality, demands would at once be made on it elsewhere, and State aid might reasonably be expected in any place where a difficulty was found in providing suitable accommodation for the working classes at moderate rents. Indeed, considering the enormous wealth of London as a whole, and the fact that the rateable value of London is greatly enhanced by its being the capital and seat of Government, the plea for State aid should have less force in London than in less favoured and less wealthy localities.

Thus we dissent from the recommendation in question, both on the ground of its being inequitable and because we are reluctant to create an expectation, either of State subsidies, or of the building of working-class dwellings at the public expense. We are in favour of facilitating the acquisition of sites for building purposes by every possible legitimate means, and of removing all impediments which hinder the free flow of capital into this channel. But we are opposed to measures which, while possibly securing some action in isolated cases, are calculated to weaken the motives which prompt the steady development of private enterprise.

6. We are disposed to think that sufficient importance has scarcely been given in the Report to the work of the private companies for housing the working classes, such as that founded by Sir Sidney Waterlow, and which in the aggregate have provided good homes for a large number of families. Witnesses were examined to show that the dividends of some of these companies

were high, and, generally, this examination was directed more to the point of their profits being unnecessarily large than to the number of working-class families which had been housed, and to the extension of the movement. But it should not be forgotten that it was the very object of Sir Sidney Waterlow to prove by experiment that capital might safely be embarked on commercial principles in the erection of model dwellings. There is every reason to believe that the success of the experiment is inducing more capital to be invested in the same channel, and thus to increase the provision of very valuable house accommodation.

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.
E. LYULPH STANLEY.
S. MORLEY.

I agree with paragraph 3 of Mr. Goschen's memorandum.

BROWNLOW.

MEMORANDUM BY THE RIGHT HON. G. J. GOSCHEN, M.P.

In addition to the reservations which I have made in the joint memorandum of Mr. Lyulph Stanley and myself, I wish to record my dissent from the recommendation of the Report with reference to the rating of vacant land, an extremely important point, on which no evidence at all proportionate to the magnitude of the subject was placed before the Commission.

The suggestion involves an entirely new principle in the law of rating, namely, taxation of capital instead of annual value, and I could not concur with such a far-reaching change in the whole system of local taxation without more examination of the bearings of the proposal than the Commission were able to give to them. It is almost certain, too, that if vacant land were rated the measure would have to be followed by the rating of empty houses. Evasion of the law by the running up of temporary structures would otherwise probably be easy, and there are other considerations which would also contribute to render this further step inevitable. But if that were so, the rating of empty houses would act as a discouragement of that development of building which the rating of vacant land is intended to promote, and the general change would fail in its purpose.

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

I agree with this memorandum.

RICHD. ASSHETON CROSS.

MEMORANDUM BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR R. A. CROSS, M.P.

I think that it is quite right that Lord Shaftesbury's Act (Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act) should, so far as London is concerned, be made *metropolitan* instead of *parochial*, and that the machinery for putting it into operation should be simplified; but I have great objections to the local authority taking upon itself the duty of providing for the housing of the working classes, except under exceptional circumstances. I agree very much with the remarks of Mr. Morrison, the sub-convener of the city of Glasgow Improvement Trust in 1875, which are to be found in the Parliamentary Paper C.—1143, 1875, at present before this Commission, and which are as follow:—

"We do not build houses, as a sufficient number of these are erected by private enterprise to meet all the wants, and no case of real hardship is known.

"The houses now built are under restriction (so far as within the Glasgow municipal boundaries only). See Glasgow Police Act, 1866, particularly clauses 370 and 371, through which provision is made for ventilation, &c., &c., &c., and these are rigidly enforced in every case.

"We are opposed to competing with private enterprise, as such course checks building. Neither do we consider it prudent to become philanthropic landlords, to let houses below the actual rents to any class, as this has a decided tendency to pauperise and destroy that feeling of independence in our working class population to which they are already too prone.

"The only exception to this rule is the case of our lowest class population, the waifs and strays, too poor or too improvident to be able to rent houses, for whom we have built and furnished airy lodging houses, with large day-rooms, lavatories, &c., where each has a separate clean bed at the charge (including use of cooking range and utensils) at 3½*d.* per night, and these institutions are so managed as to be self-supporting, including 5 per cent. interest on the capital.

"There has never been a single case of fever or epidemic disease in these lodging-houses since built several years ago, demonstrating the wisdom of dealing with even the dregs of society. Of course the rules are stringently enforced. This character of lodging-house accommodation we consider of vast importance in all large centres of population."

It is, in my opinion, in this exceptional case of the lowest class population that the action of the local authority is so much needed.

I quite agree with the Report so far as the prisons of Millbank and Pentonville are concerned; but under the provisions of the Prisons Act of 1877 the county of Middlesex would have claims upon the ground now occupied by Coldbath Fields, which it would be impossible to overlook.

RICHD. ASSHETON CROSS.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. E. DWYER GRAY, M.P.

I have had no difficulty in signing the foregoing report. I cannot but feel, however, that even if all the recommendations contained in it were adopted, they would scarcely have an appreciable effect upon the terrible evils which the Commissioners have so laboriously elucidated.

I have not had the advantage of being from the beginning a member of the Commission; I would not under the circumstances submit any opinions of mine in this form, were it not that I am convinced that, at least as regards the cities and large towns, the problem of the better housing of the working classes is in all essentials the same in England and in Ireland. If legislation upon the subject by the Imperial Parliament result from the labours of this Commission, it is likely, as under the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Acts and the various Sanitary Acts, to be either identical for the three kingdoms, or framed upon similar lines. The Commission has determined to report separately for England. Possibly the report upon Ireland may not follow for a considerable time. In any case it is not to be expected that the latter will attract anything like the attention which will be commanded by the former. Under these circumstances, though with some diffidence, I venture to submit the following suggestions:—

I am convinced that mere modifications of methods of procedure for the enforcement of sanitary regulations or greater facilities and reduced terms for loans by the State, or such like, though useful in their way, will be found quite ineffective to cope with the terrible condition of affairs disclosed in the evidence, and, indeed, well known before the Commission was appointed; and which have their source in causes far deeper than have been touched in their recommendations.

I agree with the opinion expressed by the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, President of the Board of Trade, in a remarkable article, in the "Fortnightly Review" for December 1883, that, "*the expense of making towns habitable for the toilers who dwell "in them must be thrown on the land which their toil makes "valuable, and that without any effort on the part of the "owners.*" This apparently points to a system of taxing the owners of land in towns. A direct tax would not, however, effect the result desired by Mr. Chamberlain, while it might, in certain cases, inflict great hardship upon individuals. Inasmuch as residence within a limited area of the city or its vicinity is a necessity for the classes whose case we are considering, it would in most cases and speaking generally, be in the power of owners to increase the rent as leases fell in, in proportion to the tax they would have to pay. Thus the remedy would be only temporary and partial. Neither would the proposals made by Mr. Broadhurst and Lord Randolph Churchill, and embodied in the "Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill" and the "Leaseholders (Facilities to Purchase Fee Simple) Bill" of last year (both of which proposed

to enable leaseholders to acquire by purchase compulsorily, under certain conditions, the fee simple of the premises occupied by them) suffice, though they would be highly beneficial in a great number of cases. The question must be approached in a more comprehensive spirit. The evil never can be effectually abated so long as owners of land in towns are permitted to levy a tax upon the whole community by way of an increase of rent proportionate to the increased value of that land, due not to any effort of theirs, but to the industry and consequent prosperity of the community as a whole. This, in reality, is a constantly increasing tribute by the whole community of the town, to the individuals who own the land. There is no finality in it, and therefore increased prosperity brings no relief. The only thorough remedy is to enable the local authority in every town (agricultural land must be considered separately) to acquire the fee-simple of the entire of its district compulsorily, and for this purpose the district should be so enlarged as to include the probable growth of the town for a considerable period. This proposition may appear extravagant, but in principle it is a mere extension of the provisions of Sir Richard Cross's Acts. Those Acts enable a sanitary authority to purchase an "area" compulsorily, and to take premises not in themselves in an unsanitary condition, if requisite to make the "scheme" complete. The principle of taking property compulsorily for the benefit of the working classes, even when the individual owner has been guilty of no default, is thus fully recognised. If it is just thus to take one man's property it is just to take many men's property under the same conditions if the public interest requires it. It is now simply proposed to make the "area" extend to the whole "district," for in no other way can the "scheme" be made really complete and of permanent benefit. The community represented by the local authority would then have the benefit of such future increase in the value of the land of the town as was due to its increased prosperity, caused either by the industry and enterprise of the community, or to circumstances equally beyond its control, and that of the original fee-simple holders of the land. Such a change, while inflicting no injustice upon any individual, provided a fair purchase price were paid, would, in consequence of the future enhanced value of the land, eventually not only do away with the necessity of local taxation in towns, but yield a constantly increasing surplus applicable to the benefit of the entire community. In order to enable the scheme to take effect within the lifetime of the present generation, the local authority should be enabled to purchase in addition to the fee simple such leasehold interests as might be necessary. Under such an arrangement the land would fall into the hands of the authorities as quickly as they would be able to deal with it. Due precautions should be adopted to guard against excessive payments for land by the local authority. Payment might properly be made in consolidated bonds, secured upon the entire property and rates of the district, so as to avoid enormous state loans. In fixing the payment, due allowance should be made for the difference in the value of the security between such

bonds and rents secured only on certain lands or premises subject to deterioration, cost of collection, bad debts, &c. For instance, if, as is probable, the bonds were issued at three per cent., three per cent. so secured would be equal at least to four per cent. in ground rents and to five per cent. and upwards in all other cases. Without waiting, therefore, for leases to fall in, an immediate surplus would be secured, applicable to the better housing or other relief of the working classes. The authorities being fee-simple owners, they and all those under them would be subject to statutory requirements to maintain all premises in a satisfactory sanitary condition. The local authority under such a scheme would be empowered to let the land for suitable periods and on statutory terms, subject, perhaps, to the consent of a confirming authority. The statutory leases might be :—

For rebuilding - - - -	90 years.
For substantial repairs - -	60 „
And in other cases - - -	30 „

At the end of the term allowance should be made for the then value of the improvements made by the tenant, and full protection should be given against disturbance of trade or other interests, subject only to fair revision of rent. Statutory leases could be inscribed in the book of the municipality or local authority, and be transferable as simply as its own stock or that of a railway company, subject only to a fee to cover cost of book-keeping, but as in the case of such stocks, neither trusts nor mortgages, nor any kind of charges whatever should be officially recognised. The title should be kept as "clean" as the title to Consols in the books of the Bank of England. In the case of land let on short leases acquired by the local authority, some allowance might be made for the prospective increase of value, but this should be to a very moderate extent only, for sooner or later some such scheme as that suggested is likely to be adopted, and the longer it is delayed the less favourable for the present owners the terms of purchase are likely to be. If such a provision were adopted owners would have no reasonable cause of complaint. They would get the fair value of their property, and would merely be deprived of the power to appropriate in the future the property of others. As to sanitary reform, the local authority, having possession of the fee simple, and being armed with statutory powers and responsibility to compel those holding under them to keep the premises in a proper sanitary condition, would simply put those powers into effect with as much rapidity as the circumstances of the case would permit. In the beginning it might be necessary for the same authority to build, in order to provide accommodation in place of the large number of houses now existing in every great town and which are only fit for destruction. But, once this immediate demand was over, private enterprise, when fully secured against the present system of ultimate confiscation at the end of the lease, and relieved of the present burdensome and constantly increasing taxation, would probably supply sufficient house accommodation for every class. The surplus revenue, as it fell in, would

be devoted to purposes of general public utility, from which working class, in the broadest sense of the term, would benefit. eets which naturally would suggest themselves to any public ority are improved educational facilities for all, and especially nical educational facilities, improved hospital accommodation, effective and humane relief for those temporarily or perently requiring it through no default of their own, and others h might be mentioned. It may be argued that the community ld undertake enormous risk and responsibility in the event of prosperity of the district diminishing instead of increasing. ay ease, if the prosperity of a district diminishes, the inhabitants suffer. The only difference would be that while, in such at present, the suffering is unequally distributed, in the other it would be equally distributed, and thus more easily sustained. in practice it can hardly be reasonably contended that the osal, if adopted, would not tend to bring about and create eased general prosperity. The fair way to estimate the effect the community of such a change would be to consider what ld be the present position of any of our great towns, had a scheme been adopted, say, 100 or 50, or even 20 years ago, had the enormous increases of rent which have everywhere n place gone to the community and not into the pockets of ate individuals. Of course, where a greater number of persons ongregated on a certain area of ground than that ground can mmodate under satisfactory sanitary conditions, no conceivable can so accommodate them. But, granting space available for ersons to be provided for, the scheme thus briefly indicated, d meet the necessities of the case as nothing else could, and without in any way interfering with the free play of private prise. The local authority would let the land at its disposal onditions favourable to the development and protection of ing enterprise by giving full security to those who invested money or their labour thereon, while the profit and future "earned increment" would go to the community. The ordinary of supply and demand would do all else that was requisite, hat without interference by the local authority, save to secure the statutory terms of the leases, requiring the premises to be tained in a proper sanitary condition, were observed. The local ority would stringently enforce these conditions by the simple od of breaking the lease if they were not observed, and public on would support the local authority in thus acting in the est of the community much more readily than it would support dividual so acting in his own interest. The scheme, once in ation, would be self-acting, and when fairly considered it is everse of confiscatory, communistic, or revolutionary. Rates d be still required in the beginning until the leases commenced ll in, but not to the same extent as at present, and to a antly and rapidly diminishing amount. While they continued, tem of reduced rating on premises occupied by the working es might be applied as a temporary palliative, and as a stimulus he erection, where required, of such premises. One merit c claimed for this proposal, which some others do not possess.

It is proportionate to the magnitude of the great problem to be solved.

Even granting the above proposal to be logically unassailable, its adoption should be a question of time. It involves matters of principle. I submit the following suggested amendments of the existing system, although I am of opinion that, no matter how stringently carried out, they would only act as temporary palliatives.

The coercive powers conferred upon local authorities under Acts already in force are enormous, but for various reasons many of them are not effectively exercised. This is due in some instances to the disinclination of the local authorities arising from motives of self-interest, ignorance, or apathy.

Modifications of existing legislation.

It would be desirable to fix greater responsibility upon the medical and other sanitary officers, and, when appointed, that they should be placed in a position of greater independence. The remarkable evidence given by Mr. Meyer as to the powers and method of appointment of the New York Board of Health, and the great improvements in the sanitary condition of that city arising from the action of that Board (questions 14,069 to 14,083), shows that democratic communities are willing to entrust exceedingly autocratic powers to the sanitary officers. The New York Board of Health consists of four individuals, three appointed by the Mayor and one by the Governor of the State. The Mayor appoints one medical member of the Board, and one who is not a medical man; the third is an ex-officio member, being the president of the Police Board, who is appointed by the Mayor; and the fourth, also ex-officio, is the health officer of the port, who is appointed by the Governor. The Board thus constituted appears to have the most absolute power of closing and even of destroying unhealthy premises without compensation. They have gone so far that, failing attention to orders and notices, they one night employed three hundred men and demolished an unsanitary market and cleared it all away. On another occasion, finding fines ineffective, they destroyed a gut factory in a similar way, and compelled the owner to pay the cost of carting away the material of his buildings.

Until the local authority is made absolutely representative of the whole body of the community, such autocratic powers would possibly not be submitted to here, but something might be done in this direction.

Appointment of sanitary officers.

Much good might be effected if upon the appointment of every medical or other sanitary officer his salary, the rate of increase on that salary, and the terms of his superannuation were fixed, as in the case of civil servants, and he were appointed to hold office "during good behaviour"—a well understood legal term—and were removable by the local authority only for misconduct or neglect of duty. This change would be no interference with the principle of local representative government, while it would have the effect of freeing sanitary officers from undue interference in the discharge of their duty after they had been appointed. A policeman is none the less the officer of a Corporation because he

power to arrest an offender without the specific authority the body which appoints him. Sanitary officers should have a ilar amount of initiative.

Duties of sanitary officers.

The sanitary officers should, if thus freed from undue interence, be held more directly and personally responsible for the tement of nuisances in their districts. They should be owered to institute proceedings upon their own initiative, , in the event of their neglect, it should be open to the Local vernment Board or other central authority, on the represent- n of any ratepayer, to investigate their conduct in this respect, , if necessary, to dismiss them by sealed order in the same as the Local Government Board at present may order the nissal of a Poor Law official who fails in the discharge of his .

Legal procedure.

ar more simple, stringent, and summary powers should be n for the abatement of nuisances by the sanitary officers. ough it is true that the present powers are great, the edure is dilatory and cumbersome. In many instances, the case is worked up with much labour by the sanitary ers, the offender is let off by the magistrates with a caution nominal penalty. There is no reason why elaborate or any e should be given prior to prosecutions for such sanitary ect as is held to be legally punishable, any more than in the of other offences. A minimum as well as a maximum penalty ld be provided for sanitary offences, and the minimum should rgely increased in all cases of a repetition of the offence by same person in respect of the same premises.

Statutory sanitary conditions in leases.

is urged on behalf of ground landlords of leasehold premises they have no effective control over the sanitary condition of property (see *inter alia* evidence as to the Northampton erty, questions 793 and following). To meet this, stringent effective statutory clauses requiring that the premises should aintained in proper sanitary condition should be deemed to nserted in every lease, past and prospective, and neglect mply with the requirements of these clauses should be held a breach of the terms of the lease entitling the owner to ter. The sanitary authorities and their officers should have tive, and therefore simple and summary, power to proceed ist the fee-simple owner of the property, or any or all those hold intermediate interests between such owner and the actual pier for sanitary neglect.

is argued that this would enable landlords arbitrarily to leases and re-enter on their tenants' property. Perhaps so, am unable to follow the reasoning of those who apparently eady to hold ground landlords responsible for the condition uses erected upon lease upon their lands, while at the same a simple power of remedying the abuse is refused. Either ee-simple owner is morally responsible or he is not. If he is, st be given power to enforce his responsibility. He should e held accountable for events beyond his power to remedy. ld give him the power and hold him responsible.

Liability of owners.

The President of the Board of Trade, in the article to which I have already referred, declared that "the law should make it an "offence punishable by heavy fine to own property in a state "unfit for human habitation."

This is true; but an owner in such case should be held criminally, as well as civilly, responsible in the event of death or sickness resulting from his default or neglect, and therefore power to punish such offenders by imprisonment, as well as fine, should be given.

Amendment of Cross's Acts.

With regard to the principles of valuation adopted under Sir Richard Cross's Acts, section 3 of the Amendment Act of 1879 provides that if an arbitrator finds that a house within an unhealthy area was by reason of its unhealthy state, or by reason of overcrowding, or otherwise, a nuisance within the meaning of the Acts relating to nuisances, he shall determine the value of the house or premises, supposing the nuisance to have been abated, and what would have been the expense of abating the nuisance, and that the amount of compensation payable in respect of the house or premises is to be an amount equal to the fair value of the house or premises without premium for compulsory purchase, if the nuisance was abated, and after deducting the estimated expense of abating the nuisance. No words could more definitely express the intention of the Legislature; nevertheless it is found in practice that the purchasing authority has still to pay a sum far in excess of the real value of the premises. It is almost impossible to compel the arbitrators to fix the real value, and in cases of a traverse it is absolutely impossible to induce the jury not to mulct the public authority in favour of the individual owner. This difficulty might be reduced by reversing the method of procedure. Under the present system each individual interested comes forward and proves his individual claim. The sum of those claims far exceeds the value of the premises as a whole, and exceeds that which any reasonable arbitrator would fix as the value if there was but one claimant before him who owned the fee-simple and owned and occupied the premises. The arbitrator therefore should be required to estimate the value of the premises as a whole (subject to the deductions already provided), and irrespective of any division of interests therein. No appeal should be allowed except on an allegation of fraud, which, if not sustained, should subject the person making the charge to a substantial fine as well as costs. On the lodgment of the sum fixed by the arbitrator, the local authority should be permitted to take possession of the premises without the expensive process of making title. The court should then, if necessary, appoint a different arbitrator to divide the sum lodged with it amongst those interested, and, failing agreement, each interested party should bear the costs of the proceedings in proportion to the sum received. In cases where the actual premises taken were not in such a condition as to constitute a nuisance, a fixed per-centage upon the price paid might be allowed by the purchasing authority for the purposes of the subsequent distribution amongst the parties interested, but where the premises constituted

misance the purchasing authority should pay nothing. The
ximum professional expenses payable by the purchasing
thority should be a certain per-centage of the purchase money.
the occupiers of the premises purchased belonged to the
king classes, they should be allowed a moderate sum, say
weeks' rent, for disturbance out of the purchase money.
mp duty on such purchases should be abolished. Although
e is little difference in principle between the two methods of
ng the value of the premises purchased—valuing as a whole
valuing piecemeal—in practice they would have very different
lts.

might be necessary to make an exception to this principle
ases where there was more than one "trade interest" in the
e premises. It would be necessary to value trade interests
rately, and no doubt it is in the cases of the purchase of trade
rests that the greatest imposition takes place. It is almost
ossible effectually to guard against this, still something might
one. No one should be permitted to attempt to prove that
was making a greater profit than that upon which he had paid
me tax. I would give the purchasing authority power to
draw from the purchase on payment of proved loss at any
before the premises were taken over, and if, as is usually
case, the trader avers that his business will be destroyed by
oval and then sets up in the immediate neighbourhood, I
d give the purchasing authority the right to claim back
on of the purchase money. Other expedients might be
sed to protect the public purse against the rapacity of those
se premises are required for public purposes. I acknowledge
some of those which I have suggested are somewhat crude.
if anything effective is to be done in the way of re-housing
oor under the existing system, the cost of purchase *must* by
means be got down to something approaching the fair market

the opposition to the confirmation of an improvement scheme
found to be unreasonable costs should not be allowed against
ocal authority; if vexatious, costs should be given against
pponents.

many cases it is difficult for the local authorities to make
sion for the persons displaced, even under the modified
given by the Acts of 1879 and 1882. In some cases also
e they can make such provision they might more advan-
usly dispose of the lands compulsorily taken than by
ing them to the erection of dwellings for the working
s. A wider discretion might with advantage be given to
onfirming authority, the object being to stimulate the
ion of schemes by the local authority so far as practicable.
e other hand, the local authority should not be allowed to
land, acquired by them compulsorily, vacant for long periods,
y because they cannot get what they would deem an
ate price for it. While recognising fully the importance
mpelling the local authorities where necessary to provide
modation in lieu of that which they destroy, it may be

that the Artizans Dwellings Acts of Sir Richard Cross were framed with a too exclusive regard to the conditions of London and some few large towns, where almost the entire available area is already appropriated. In other towns, however, with stationary or diminishing populations and convenient vacant space for building available, it might, in certain cases, be highly advantageous simply to exercise the powers of destruction of unhealthy areas, leaving the provision of accommodation to private enterprise.

Reduction of rates on sanitary certificate.

A great stimulus to the erection by private enterprise of dwellings for the working classes might be given by the general adoption of the principle (in force in certain towns) by which buildings under certain valuations are allowed a large reduction of taxation. In cases of crowded cities such a reduction of course should apply not only to houses of a low valuation, but to all houses inhabited by the working classes. In order to enforce sanitary requirements the right to this reduction might be made contingent upon evidence that the premises in respect to which a reduction was claimed were, during the previous 12 months, in a satisfactory sanitary condition, and were occupied by the classes intended to be benefited. It might be possible, also, to require that the premises were let at what would be deemed to be a fair rent, though the practicability of enforcing this latter provision may be doubted. This plan of a reduction of rates on such premises, on evidence that they were maintained in a satisfactory sanitary condition, would, to a large extent, do away with the necessity of sanitary prosecutions. The spur of self interest is more effective than that of direct compulsion.

Local taxation.

The Commission has scarcely dealt sufficiently fully, in my opinion, with the general question of local taxation, as it affects the question under consideration. The working classes do not perhaps realise how directly they are interested in, and how much they suffer from the present system. At present all the local taxation in a town is practically raised from a tax upon the houses in the town. All other descriptions of property escape. To take as an illustration the case of two men each with a hundred thousand pounds; one invests his in foreign bonds and pays nothing on them, the other builds a factory and employs a couple of hundred hands and pays, perhaps, two or three hundred pounds a week in wages. His factory is taxed to the extent of, perhaps, hundreds a year. This system works a double injury to the working classes. It reduces their wages, it increases their rent. They receive less than they would under a more equitable system. They have to pay more.

Taxation of vacant houses.

One of the causes of the high rents paid by the working classes for their dwellings is, as I have said, the high rates which their landlords have to pay. Not only is the system of taxing land exclusively unjust, it is also unequal. Vacant houses escape taxation, though the local authority have to pay for the services rendered to such houses just as if they were occupied; for instance, for sewers, paving, and flagging, the public lighting, the maintenance of a sanitary staff, fire brigade, and in most

ies, water and police. An owner of a house may often make ultimate profit by keeping it empty and holding out for a high nt. There is no reason why this profit should be aggrandised the expense of those who let their houses at the current market es. The effect of a general compulsory rating of all houses, ether occupied or unoccupied, would be a proportionate luction of rates and of rents all round, and every reduction of nt, even for the most costly mansions, would proportionately duce the rents or give better accommodation for the very orest of the working classes. The same principle applies to rating of vacant ground in towns. It may be urged that ese changes would check building, but vacant houses in towns only useful for letting, and vacant ground in towns is only ful for building, and therefore this result would not ensue m speculative holders being required to bear their fair share the public burdens.

The rural districts.

Although the condition of the labouring classes in rural tricts may not have been investigated as fully as that of the rking classes in towns, there is abundant evidence to show the essity of dealing with their case in a broad and comprehensive nner. I do not think the recommendations contained in the neral report meet the necessities of the case. The essential dition of the feudal tenure, by which all land was originally d in England, required that the lord should maintain thereon certain number of families available for the purposes of the te. That obligation in my opinion still attaches to the land. ink the rural sanitary authorities should have power to erect ellings for the labouring classes to whatever extent may be essary, and to attach to them suitable plots of land; that the hority should have power to compel landlords themselves to ct dwellings, or to repair and put into sanitary condition those ady upon their lands, and in each case attach to them suitable ts. To avoid the expense of making title, the sanitary hority might be empowered to take lands on perpetuity leases ead of in fee simple. I would also empower the local horities to take land compulsorily, either by purchase or on petuity leases, for the purpose of providing allotments for the of the labouring classes in rural districts who may be already vided with sufficient house accommodation. I do not think for purpose there is any need of the somewhat cumbersome pro- ure of Provisional Order or Act of Parliament. Sanction by Local Government Board, after the holding of a local inquiry, h an appeal to the County Court Judge or other local tribunal uld, in my opinion, suffice. The rate should be chargeable on area sufficiently large to prevent landlords endeavouring to get of their obligations by driving the labouring classes into the ns. To make these provisions effective, it would be necessary, my opinion, that the local authority having charge of their cution should be representative of the whole body of the ple, or at least that it should be elected by a constituency as e, and by a system as secure as that provided by the Represen- on of the People Act of this session. I think, for the reason

I have first stated, that the whole charge of these operations, including the loss (if any), through letting the houses at a rent within the reach of the classes to be benefited should be borne by the land.

E. DWYER GRAY.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. H. BROADHURST, M.P.

Cost of transfer of land.

Much evidence was given before the Commission to support the well-known fact that one of the chief obstacles to the efforts of the working classes to become the owners of their own homes is the very large cost attending the transfer of land. A large number of witnesses agreed that the ownership of their dwellings by the labouring classes would remedy many of the worst evils in connexion with the subject of this Commission, but the difficulties which arose from the enormous lawyer's costs effectually prevented the purchase of land by these classes, excepting in cases where building societies, on a large scale, have been successfully established.

The following suggestions are not designed to apply, nor are they applicable, to all transfers of land. They merely aim at the practical point, namely, to enable the wage-earning classes to get a good title to a small house or plot of land at a small expense.

So far as the mere document of transfer is concerned, it is thought that the law does not need alteration. An entire county can now be conveyed in a very few lines. The forms provided by existing laws are available. One of the chief causes of expense is the necessity of closely investigating title, and for this purpose a solicitor must now be employed. What the cost may be is uncertain, depending as it does on the difficulty of the title and the conscience of the solicitor; and when all is done there often remains some risk, though generally a remote one, of some flaw in the title to a house. Obviously, when a poor man is invited to spend almost all that he has in buying a house, he will not do so if there is even one chance in a hundred of his losing everything by no fault of his own. This is a very potent reason why such men shrink from purchasing land or houses.

The indispensable condition, without which the wage-earning classes will not be induced to purchase, is that it should be put in their power to acquire an absolutely reliable title at a moderate and fixed rate of transfer. The importance of the cost being moderate and fixed is apparent. The immense importance of the title being absolutely reliable will appear from the following consideration. In the majority of cases working men who would buy dwellings do not possess the means of buying them outright. They require a loan, and have to procure it from building societies or elsewhere. In such cases, even if the buyer be willing to run some risk instead of incurring the heavy and uncertain expense of

vestigating title, the lender would refuse to run such risk. Any ethod which is to result in practical good must be one which so mps the title of the buyer that a building society would at once d money on it without further cost in investigation of the title. w in nineteen cases out of twenty the title to a small house in ndon or other large towns is good, the twentieth case being rhaps doubtful or intricate. If that twentieth case were minated a man who bought either of the other nineteen would practically safe from eviction. In other words, suppose a man ls largely in such purchases, and takes care to avoid all ubtful or intricate titles, he can secure himself from defect of e by setting aside as a reserve fund one per cent. of the total rchase money.

Further, these houses with doubtful or intricate titles are cisely those which are costly to transfer, because the cost of nsfer greatly depends upon the difficulty of investigating title. shrewd solicitor would be well pleased to investigate the title perform the transfer of a hundred houses, and *a fortiori* of thousand houses, for one per cent. of their total value, if he re at liberty to reject and decline further trouble with any se the title of which at the first blush presented difficulty or med to require long research. If these views are sound it ows that on purchase of house property on a large scale it ld be a safe operation to guarantee title to the purchaser for per cent., and to undertake the conveyancing for another one cent. of the total value, provided there were freedom at once decline any cases in which the title is not at first sight clear. ject to this proviso it would be possible to give to each chaser his deed of conveyance with guaranteed title for two cent. of his purchase money, assuming him to purchase at fair value. This seems enough for the limited purpose in stion; a moderate and fixed cost of transfer, and an absolutely able title are the essentials.

The following is a practical suggestion for carrying out such cheme. Let the Metropolitan Board in the Metropolis, the l authority in other urban sanitary districts, and the Court of rter Sessions elsewhere, be empowered to appoint a committee the transfer of lands and tenements, and to employ a solicitor the purpose. Then let any person who has agreed to buy house or land apply to the committee for their intervention. y would have power to examine him and ascertain if his is a within the scope of the measure which would authorise these ceedings, and a case in which in their discretion they ought to these powers. If the committee considered that the case e a proper one they would direct their solicitor to inspect the , and should there be any doubt or intricacy about it they ld decline to proceed further. If it were quite clear, the itor would fill up a statutory form and have it executed by parties.

he form should contain on the part of the local authority an lute guarantee to the purchaser and his assigns that he has od title to the property transferred. As incidental to this

there should be a power to the committee to require from any persons a statutory declaration as to their knowledge of or dealings with the property.

In order to cover cost and guarantee there should be a charge of two per cent. on value or purchase money.

Such a scheme would afford immense facilities to the working classes for purchase of their own dwellings, and would encourage thrift in order that they might become purchasers. Building societies would readily advance money on a title guaranteed by the local authority, and there would be no charity, with its consequent demoralization, involved in the business. When the state of the law creates artificial barriers against the acquisition of land by the poorer classes it seems legitimate to use the municipal credit in order to remove them in the interests of the community, especially when no pecuniary risk is incurred by the local authority.

The question of risk to the municipality seems the only point open to doubt. It is probable that no statistics could be obtained whereby to ascertain in what per-centage of cases a holder under a title approved at once by an experienced solicitor has been evicted on a point of title. The local authorities, however, might proceed tentatively at first, and the per-centage to be charged might be increased if experience showed it to be desirable: moreover, in many towns the root of the title to many streets is the same,—and is well known to practising solicitors, and after a short time the solicitor to the committee could increase his familiarity with the roots of title in his district.

Supposing it appeared that so small a per-centage would be insufficient to cover the cost and risk on the occasion of the first transfer of a tenement, the scheme might be so framed that on each subsequent transfer of the same tenement the same per-centage should be payable to the local authority in the manner about to be described. This, which perhaps is desirable on independent grounds, would feed the reserve fund against loss in the form of a municipal tax on each successive dealing with the property.

It is suggested that when a transaction of this kind has taken place the local authority should be required by law forthwith to register the transfer, either in its own office, or at the Probate Registry, or the county court, or wherever else might be deemed the most convenient place. In this case it should be enacted that every subsequent dealing with such property by or through or under the first registered owner should also be registered, or while unregistered should have no legal effect as against any registered dealing of later date. The effect would be that every such dealing would be registered at once lest a later dealing should prevail against it by virtue of an earlier registration. The profit to the local authority would lie in this, that on each dealing or transfer subsequent to the original registration the same per-centage would be chargeable, and the same guarantee of course would be given. But inasmuch as after the original registration an unregistered dealing would not prevail against a

gistered dealing, the guarantee given by the local authority on second or subsequent transfer would be virtually a mere petition of the guarantee given on the first registered transfer. us the per-centage, which on the first transfer covered the t of investigating title and the risk of loss on the guarantee, uld on the second and all subsequent transfers be earned ch more cheaply. It would, in fact, merely cover the cost of king over the register and making out and registering the fresh nsfer.

The following instance may make the proposed method of nsaction clear :—

A agrees to buy from B a house for 200*l.* A applies to the rporation, who take the matter up. They find that the title is isfactory, and on 1st January 1886 their solicitor fills in the tutory deed and registers it. The Corporation guarantee A have a good title. For all this the Corporation receives 4*l.* 1889 A wishes to sell the same house to C for 200*l.* C ordingly applies to the Corporation. They have already aranteed to A and his assigns a good title in 1886. The law s that for every dealing in that house by, through, or under A sequent to 1st January 1886 a registered dealing shall prevail inst an unregistered dealing. Accordingly, the Corporation, their solicitor, simply look at the register since 1st January 86, and finding that no dealing with this house is registered ce that date they again fill up the transfer or deed from A to C . register it, and they guarantee to C and his assigns a good e. For this also the Corporation receives 4*l.* It is clear that re is no risk on the guarantee to C. Any risk of a title being covered which shall be earlier than and paramount to the e acquired by A in 1886 is already covered by the guarantee en to A and his assigns in 1886. Any risk of a title being overed which shall be later than the title acquired by A in 86 is excluded, because none such appears on the register, and transfer to C in 1889 having been registered, prevails by law r any earlier unregistered title by, through, or under A. It ows that the second 4*l.* is earned more easily than the first 4*l.* e cost of investigating title is less, and the new risk on the rantee is nothing.

t is in this way that a system of compulsory registration, ited in the manner set forth, would result in feeding the erve fund of the local authority against risk on the original rantee. The indirect advantage arising from the establish- t of land registers and the multiplication of absolutely safe s transferable at insignificant cost do not enter into the sent question.

t must be expressly understood that none of these proposals in way affect existing rights or titles. Registration, in the instance, is entirely voluntary, for no man need risk the rvention of the local authority unless he pleases. When once le is registered further registration of subsequent dealings is pulsory only on persons claiming by, through, or under the on who was originally registered. If A registers in 1886,

any one after that who acquires the property by, through, or under his registered title must also register. But if any man comes forward and proves that A had no title in 1886, or that he has a title paramount to that of A in 1886, then that man will recover the property, irrespective of any question as to registration. The risk of such a claimant appearing is precisely the risk against which the civic guarantee is intended to guard.

This then is the scheme which is suggested as one promising great facilities for the acquisition of houses by the wage-earning classes, which, while it reduces legal charges to a minimum, does not inflict loss on the Treasury or on municipal and other local bodies.

These suggestions were included in the first draft of the Report which was submitted to the whole Commission. It was decided not to retain them with the body of the Report, because they were thought to fall wide of the strict scope of Her Majesty's Commission.

HENRY BROADHURST.

We agree generally with Mr. Broadhurst's memorandum.

H. E. CARD. MANNING.
CARRINGTON.
W. WALSHAM BEDFORD.
E. LYULPH STANLEY.
JESSE COLLINGS.
S. MORLEY.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. JESSE COLLINGS, M.P.

I have signed the Report, as I concur generally in its recommendations. I find it necessary, however, to add a few observations, together with some further recommendations.

London government.

It seems to me that the reference in the report to reform in the government of London (page 58) is of a too halting character. It has been shown that the powers possessed by local authorities are very extensive, but that those powers have not been sufficiently exercised. The whole evidence on this part of the subject points to the absolute necessity of a complete reform in local administration in London before any laws passed for the benefit of the poor and working classes can be expected to become operative. With a representative municipal government the labouring classes would have an interest in local affairs which they have not got at present, and which under the present state of things they are not likely to acquire. By this means, aided by the spread of education, a public opinion on the subject would be created and the people affected would learn that they have in their own hands, to a large extent, a remedy for the evils under which they suffer.

Municipal reform should, therefore, be one of the first if not the chief recommendation as regards the metropolis.

Water supply.

The defective water supply in London and many large towns ne cause of much of the ill-health and misery among the poor. it also must be ascribed much of the dirt and squalor which found in the poorer dwellings. The companies have the er to cut off the supply of water whenever landlords fail to the rate, thereby inflicting inconvenience and hardship on tenant. The Report recommends that "companies should be rived of the summary powers which they now possess." king at the vast importance of a continuous water supply recommendation of the Commission does not seem to me to be nite enough, or to secure sufficient protection to the poorer ses in this respect. In paying rent the tenant pays also for pply of water and is entitled to receive it. Should a landlord ent receiver fail to pay, or be in arrears with the water rate, the companies should have their remedy against him onally as in the case of any other debt, but they should not permitted, *under any circumstances whatever*, to deprive the nt of what is a necessary of life, and in the supply of which (the companies) have a monopoly.

Betterment.

The principle of "Betterment," which is recognised in the zans Dwellings Acts, 1879–82, in cases where property nging to the same owner is benefited, should be extended. owners of adjacent property who have been directly benefited ny public improvement should be called upon to pay such an a rate as would constitute a fair share of the cost of such ovement. Mr. Forwood, who has had experience of the ing of this law in America, speaks of it in his evidence as admirable and very fair arrangement."

Rating of ground rents.

t present the owners of ground rents pay nothing directly rds the rates of a locality. It is contended that the rates land are paid indirectly through the occupier; but even tting this to be the case, it is evident that all increase in the and all new rates must fall entirely on the householder. ground landlord—the future value of whose property is so ly increased by no effort of his own, but by the industry outlay of the community—pays nothing, as a rule, even ectly towards the repayment of short loans and other nses for new improvements, or for increased local expendi- of any kind. It should be a recommendation that all ground s should be directly rated in support of local burdens.

Arbitration.

uch evidence has been given as to the excessive prices which been awarded by arbitrators under the Artizans Dwellings to owners of property in unhealthy areas. These prices, her with the enormous cost of the arbitration itself, are said ve a deterrent effect as regards the adoption of new schemes eal authorities. These excessive awards are not so much o the wording of the compensation clauses in the Acts as to expensive and unsatisfactory character of the tribunal ted for the purpose of arbitration. In order to remedy difficulties which are shown to arrest the action of local orities in a sanitary direction, and in order to avoid the y action inseparable from the present method of proceeding

by professional arbitrators, it should be a recommendation that arbitrations should be conducted, and prices to be paid settled, by independent official arbitrators appointed by the Local Government Board, whose decisions should be final.

Rents.

It is shown in evidence that poverty and high rents are the main causes of the unsatisfactory housing of the labouring classes. If this be so there is a danger, if not a certainty, that the recommendations contained in the Report, however good from a sanitary point of view, will, if carried out without further provisions, cause a rise in rents, thereby aggravating the difficulties under consideration, especially so far as the very poor are concerned. There is a considerable amount of evidence given in support of this view. Lord William Compton stated that he was reluctant to enforce the power contained in the leases, lest by so doing the rents of the tenement houses might be raised.

The rent of dwellings in the metropolis and in large towns is not governed by the principle of "supply and demand" as the term "supply and demand" is usually understood. The evidence is conclusive in showing that the labouring classes are compelled to live in certain areas of the metropolis in order to gain their living. Their occupations are such as to make it impossible for them to live outside these areas. The land in these districts is in the hands of private owners, in some cases of two or three persons. It is a fixed quantity and can never be increased, while the demand for it is steadily increasing. The consequence is that as leases fall in the ground rent is increased so enormously that it becomes impossible to erect dwellings to come within the means of the poorer classes. This, together with the competition for the limited amount of dwelling-room within the areas, compels the labouring classes who are unable to pay the high rents demanded to put up with less and less accommodation. Lord Shaftesbury declares that the evils of overcrowding have increased very much of late years. He states that "the population are overcrowded to an extent I have never known." In some districts, he says, those families who used to have two rooms are now compelled by their landlords to take one, and to pay exactly the same rent as they formerly paid for two. These causes gave rise to the single-room system which now generally obtains in the populous parts of the metropolis. The evils of that system, physically and morally, are dwelt on by almost every witness. The opinions of a minister of religion of great experience on this question are summed up in the words quoted by Lord Shaftesbury, "We dare "not say all we know." The evils of this single-room system are so terrible, both socially and morally, as well as from a sanitary point of view, that no remedial measures which contemplate a continuance of that system should, in my opinion, be thought sufficient or even worthy of serious consideration. It is unsatisfactory to reflect that even an increase of sobriety and thrift, so much to be desired, would in the present state of things have the possible effect of increasing rents. It is evident that if a thousand men on a given area—on which they are compelled by their occupations to remain—should by increased

erness save sufficient to enable them to take a second room
the present rents this demand for a thousand rooms, the
pply being fixed or nearly so, would tend to raise rents, and the
ney results of improved habits on the part of the people would
into the house-owners' pockets.

The bulk of the evidence on this part of the question seems to
ve that under the present conditions of private ownership of
ground, of leases, and of middlemen or "house knackers,"
s hopeless to attempt to stay the evils of overcrowding without
he same time raising rents to an extent altogether beyond
at the artizan and poorer classes are able to pay. It is
essary if the working classes are to be decently housed that
ection should be given them against extortionate rents
ulting from a monopoly of a practically limited supply of
ilable land and dwellings and an intense and increasing
petition in the demand for the accommodation. Lord William
upton, in view of this difficulty, assents to the necessity of
ulating rents by law, but it is evident that this would be very
cult to accomplish.

Power of local authorities to purchase.

am of opinion that the only effectual remedy is for local
norities to be empowered to purchase both land and dwellings
hose parishes, towns, and cities, or parts of parishes, towns,
cities, which can be described as populous and as liable
er ordinary conditions, to be overcrowded. In fixing the
litions on which these purchases are to be made, regard should
had to the objects in view. Local authorities should be
uired to pay no extra sum for compulsory sale, but the price
uld be based on an estimate of what would be fair between
lling buyer and a willing vendor, without any addition to the
e for prospective value. No part of the profits of owners
uld be recognised which are secured only through the poverty
egradation of the tenants. The value of houses should be
mated, not according to high rentals resulting from over-
vding, as that would be to give a premium to unscrupulous
ers, but the price should be based on the rental which would
eceived from that number of tenants which, with due regard
ecency and health, the dwellings were fitted to accommodate.
tements should be made in the price to make good defects
a sanitary point of view, while those dwellings described in
evidence as "rotten houses," "houses falling into decay," as
fit for human habitation," should be condemned and removed
out any compensation whatever.

The purchase of land, houses, and leases as suggested might
thought at first sight to constitute too large an undertaking to
ntrusted to local authorities. Experience, so far as it goes,
not support this view. In addition to the ordinary municipal
s, many corporations have under their control undertakings of
ried and extensive character. They have property belonging
he town in the form of gas and water undertakings, baths,
lhouses, libraries, market tolls, land, and allotment gardens.
matters connected with these concerns, including collection
ents and receipt of payments, are carried on with skill and

success. Further, it is in the direction of throwing increased work on representative local authorities that Parliamentary legislation is tending. All who have experience of municipal life will admit that in the degree in which the duties of local authorities are made more arduous and their responsibilities are increased, in that degree the work is deemed more honourable by the community and becomes more attractive to the ablest and most self-sacrificing citizens in the locality. Besides, it is for those who reject this recommendation to suggest some other remedy for "competition rents," which seem to me to be the key of the difficulty which the Commission are called upon to solve. It is impossible to pass over unanswered the precise and abundant evidence to the effect that excessive rents of ground and dwellings are the main cause of the evils under consideration. "Cost of land and unwillingness of owners to part with sites for workmen's dwellings." "Main difficulty cost of land." "Nearly one half the population pay from one fourth to one half of wages earned as rent." "Rents are "getting gradually higher and higher, and wages are not rising, "and there is a prospect, therefore, of the disproportion between "rent and wages growing greater still," &c., &c., &c. These "competition rents" are secured to a comparatively few private persons at the expense of the sufferings, disease, and degradation of the great mass of the people. It is not so much a question of the owners as of the system. So long as there is an ever-increasing demand for land and dwellings, and the limited supply of land and dwellings is in private hands, it is impossible to put a limit to the ever-increasing rents which tell so disastrously on the poorer classes.

It is in the light of existing evils that the recommendation above made and the difficulties connected with that recommendation should be viewed. There is a considerable amount of experience in favour of the proposal. Sir Richard Cross's Acts are based on the principle contained in the recommendation, though applied on a smaller scale. Among other witnesses whose evidence tends to favour the principle, Mr. Forwood, who has great knowledge of municipal affairs, states his opinion that "corporation management is better than private management." That "the poor are more benefited by outlay of money by public authorities than by private authorities"; that corporations being able to do without profit "look at the question from a sanitary point of view." As owners the local authorities would have full power to prevent overcrowding, and at the same time would have no inducement to raise rents beyond a point which would amply protect the ratepayers from loss, or, if a profit were made, it would be for the benefit, not of private persons, but of the whole community.

Rural districts. Looking at the valuable and exhaustive evidence given with respect to the rural districts, I do not think that the Report deals sufficiently either with the condition of the labourers or with the remedies suggested by the witnesses. I do not agree with the conclusions in the Report that the relations of the labourer to the

d are somewhat beyond the scope of the present inquiry, eecially as the evidence of the representatives of the labourers given with singular intelligence—bore to a large degree if not inly on that particular point.

I am of opinion that this part of the inquiry reveals the main se not only of the bad condition of the rural labouring poor, also of much of the overcrowding and misery in towns. To cuss questions connected with the land is no doubt to introduce attentious matter, but to avoid those questions is to ignore the iedies to which some of the most valuable parts of the evidence nt. The steady and rapid migration from rural parishes to ge towns which has been going on for so many years should be yed, and, if possible, turned back. This can only be done by proving the condition of the agricultural labourers by giving m facilities for acquiring a personal interest in the soil, and opening out for them some hopeful career on the land.

Reform of government in rural districts.

t will be difficult, however, if not impossible, to carry out ctually sanitary and other reforms in rural districts until more ctive machinery for the purpose is established in the form of l municipalities on the representative principle. At present se principally concerned, the labouring classes, are practically hout any control of or share in the management of local affairs. should, therefore, be one of the chief recommendations that se rural municipalities should be established without delay.

Torrens's Acts.

n addition to Lord Shaftesbury's Act, I think that Mr. Torrens's s should, with the requisite amendments, be extended to icultural districts.

Cottage accommodation on large estates.

There is evidence that since the Report of the Royal Commission 1867 much has been done with regard to dwellings for nrers by many landowners owning large estates. There is ndant proof, however, that this improvement is by no means eral, and that the condition of labourers with regard to llings is most unsatisfactory. It is shown in evidence that on e large estates little or no care is exercised with respect to llings for the labourers. Cottages are described as "very " others as "falling to pieces," "damp and unhealthy," "in a rable condition," "no water," "no closets," &c., &c. The people, if they complain, are told that nothing can be done, that "when too bad to live in the occupants must go ewhere else."

Rural demolitions.

n many estates for various reasons cottages have been pulled n and allowed to go into decay, and the labourers, while their ices have been required and retained on the land, have been ived of the necessary dwelling accommodation, and been ed into neighbouring towns and villages, often at long ances from their work. These demolitions, though carried on ually and extending over years, have been as injurious or e injurious to the poorer classes than those referred to and with in the Report. They are less justifiable than demoli- s made by railway companies in cities, with respect to which ecommendation in the Report is made. Private owners of e estates, estates extending miles in area, including often

villages and hamlets besides outlying dwellings, have absolute power to determine arrangements with respect to dwellings and buildings on their lands. No one can build or supply a deficiency except with their consent and on their terms. So long as this state of things exists it is the duty of the community to protect the labourer from the evil consequences of this monopoly.

Landowners required to supply sufficient accommodation on their estates.

It should be a recommendation, therefore, that landowners should be required by law—due notice having been given of a deficieney—to provide sufficient and suitable dwelling accommodation on their estates under laws and regulations to be enforced by the local authorities. The initial steps should be taken on a report by the medical officer of health, or any other competent officer appointed by the local authority. Canon Girdlestone agreed that landlords should be compelled to do their duty in this respect, while other witnesses admitted the moral obligation on the part of landowners, but shrunk from legal compulsion. The difficulty of determining what is sufficient accommodation on an estate, though great, is not an insuperable one, and cases where glaring deficieneies, both as to quality and amount of accommodation exist, could be first dealt with. There is valuable evidence given on this head by witnesses before the Royal Commission 1867. Captain de Winton states: "A man "who did not put up two decent cottages for every acre of land "he owned should be taxed for the omission."

This compulsory provision of dwelling accommodation, while being a mere act of justice to the men employed on the land, would inflict no hardship on landowners, for it is given in evidence that improved cottages, if not paying interest of money as cottages, yet are indirectly profitable as part of the estate. One competent witness states that the good and comfortable cottages erected on the estate, with which he is connected, are not built "with a view to interest, but for the advantage of the estate," and with regard to the outlay involved the same witness states that "there is nothing on the estate which any other landlord "would not find it a good and wise expenditure to carry out." As a mere money question, it is evident that the time—often one and even two hours a day—which a labourer spends in walking to and from his work represents from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per week, of which no one gets the advantage.

Rent of rural cottages.

There is abundant evidence to show that the difficulty of rent would be largely solved by the addition of land to cottages. The labourers and others who gave evidence on the subject stated, that the men could pay higher rent, and "would be pleased to do so," if land arable or pasture were attached to the dwellings. The Rev. Chas. Stubbs was strongly of this opinion. One witness of considerable experience while admitting the difficulty of paying rent for good cottages alone, says it is "easy to pay fair rent for land and cottage together." He considered the two to be so necessary that he declined to consider them apart.

Garden and field allotments and small holdings.

The abundant and interesting evidence as to the great value to labourers of small holdings of land to supplement their wages, thereby making them to become better housed and fed, should not

e passed over. It was shown that Lord Tollemache lets to each ff the labourers on his estate three acres of pasture land for cow- eeping with results alike satisfactory to landlord, farmer, and ibourer.

It should be a recommendation that local authorities should ave compulsory powers to purchase land at a fair market price without any addition for compulsory sale) for the purpose of arden or field allotments to be let at fair rents to all labourers ho might desire them in plots up to one acre of arable and three r four acres of pasture.

Fund held by Charity Commissioners.

The Charity Commissioners have in their charge, invested in ie funds and other securities, large sums of money (about 11 illions sterling), much of which has been obtained by the sale f lands belonging to charities in rural districts. It would be propriate if the Commissioners were directed to loan this money t the rate of interest they are at present getting) to rural cal authorities on the security of the lands purchased and of the ates, for the purpose of carrying out the above recommendations.

Water supply in rural districts.

Evidence is given of the unsatisfactory character of the water pply in many rural districts and of the serious evils resulting erefrom. It should be a recommendation that powers should given to local authorities to compel owners to provide a fficient and convenient supply of good water to all cottage operty.

Tenure of cottages.

The evidence given on behalf of the agricultural labourers specting the insecurity of the tenure of their dwellings is of a est decided character. The labouring poor feel keenly their bility to be turned out of their cottages at short notice, often at of a week only. This insecurity subjects the men to great rdships. It frequently compels them to accept lower wages d submit to unjust treatment rather than be turned out of their uses. It puts them at the mercy of the farmers and "binds em hand and foot." One rural witness thinks it "unfair that ttages should be let with the farms." Another states that e men "are up in arms against the system." Lord Leicester oyal Commission, 1867, page 165) gives it as his opinion that ttages should be held direct from the landlord, and not be sub- by the occupier of the farm. The grievances connected with is insecurity of tenure is so great and is felt by the men so enly that it is impossible to ignore the question. It should a recommendation that the suggestion of Lord Leicester be opted, that the men should be tenants of the landlord and not the farmer; and further, that they should have a legal right at least two months' notice to quit.

It might be objected that the recommendations contained in is memorandum constitute too large an interference with the ims of property. I do not think that on examination they will found to touch any just rights which belong to property. The te of things revealed by the evidence is so startling, so full of grace and danger to the country, that it should not in any e be permitted to continue. The majority of the class on whom wealth and prosperity of the country and the safety of its

institutions mainly depend are living under conditions which must be regarded by all thoughtful readers of the evidence to be both shocking and intolerable. They are so situated that it is impossible for them to help themselves without some legislative protection. The existing laws which have been brought under our notice are defective for the purpose aimed at, through too much care for the claims of property. Any future legislation which may be the result of the labours of the Commission will be successful only in the degree that it recognises the natural rights of human beings as paramount, as over-riding every other consideration.

JESSE COLLINGS.

We agree with this memorandum.

HENRY BROADHURST.
S. MORLEY.

We agree with Mr. Collings's memorandum, excepting the paragraph relating to London government.

H. E. CARD. MANNING.
CARRINGTON.

I agree with the above memorandum, with the exception of those clauses which refer to the compulsory provision of cottage accommodation by landowners.

WM. WALSHAM BEDFORD.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. G. GODWIN, F.R.S.

Cheap building material.

Suggestions have been made that arrangements in planning and the use of certain materials by which sound and durable residences could be erected at less cost than is now the case, so that the rent within the means of the poor would afford a fair percentage on the money spent, would be advantageous. The employment of concrete, for example, for the walls of houses, especially in parts of the country where the materials for its formation are cheaply obtainable, and where brick or stone may be more than usually expensive, is urged by those who are well acquainted with it as a building material. The Metropolitan Board of Works allow of its use within the limits of the Metropolitan Building Act, and the Tithe Commissioners advance money in aid of the erection in this material of agricultural buildings. I am of opinion that the use of it and of similar materials would, in many cases, further the objects of the Royal Commission.

The Familistère.

Arrangements for housing the working classes by some of the
e employers are made abroad which are less common in
gland; that is, tenements are provided by the employers in
nexion with the works, and various social advantages are
rded to tenants. One remarkable example of this is the
blishment of M. Godin-Lemaire at Guise, near St. Quentin,
France, who has made a fortune as a manufacturer of stoves
ranges. The workmen, 700 or 800 in number, and their
ilies are here housed in flats three and four stories high;
scries for the infants and schools for the children as they grow
are provided without additional charge. The unfurnished
rtments are let at the rate of 3*s.* 9*d.* per calendar month per
n. A furnished room for a single man (bed made and room
right every day) costs 6*s.* 8*d.* a month, and a bed in a
mitory can be obtained at one penny a day. This, it is stated,
s the employer 6 per cent. It happens that I gave some
iculars of this establishment at a congress of the Social Science
ociation held in Sheffield in 1865. A view and plans of the
ding will be found in the "Sheffield" volume of the
Transactions of the Social Science Association." Illustrations
also given in "*Habitations ouvrières en tous Pays*," *par*
ller, 1879.*

n looking for the means by which the above result was
ght about, it appeared that there were retail shops on the
und floor where anything required by the tenants, meat,
es, &c., could be obtained at a small per-centage above
lesale prices, and which yet gave a profit, and this was
idered in settling the charge for the lodgings.

The establishment, which is known as the Familistère de Guise,
greatly increased since the date I have mentioned, and is still
perous. It is throughout conducted on co-operative principles,
with these we are not concerned excepting so far as they are
ied to the housing of the workman.

is mentioned as an instructive fact that during the time it
been carried on, about 24 years, no circumstance has occurred
nst the tenants that has needed the interference of the law.

though it was not practicable to call witnesses before the Royal
mission on the working of this institution, I am of opinion
it will be of advantage that some reference to it should be
nded to the Report.

GEORGE GODWIN.

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his latter volume contains many useful plans, sections, and elevations
kmen's dwellings in France, Austria, Germany, America, England, &c.
ublishers are Messrs. Dejey & Cie., 18, Rue de la Perle, Paris.

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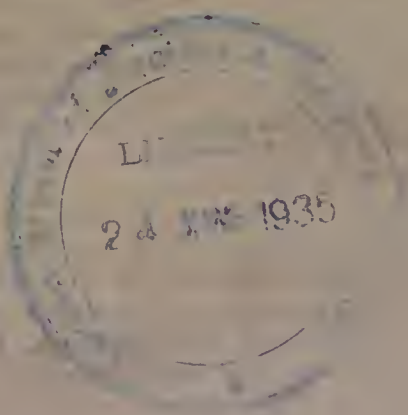

TIGHT

GUTTERS.